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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXV

OCTOBER, 1908

NUMBER 1

**Oriental Exploration Fund of the University
of Chicago**

SECOND PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE EGYPTIAN
EXPEDITION

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED
The University of Chicago

I. INTRODUCTION

The work of the Egyptian Expedition during its first season (1905-6) had included a complete paleographic survey of the monuments of Lower Nubia from the foot of the second cataract at Halfa to the Ptolemaic temples just above the first cataract, not inclusive of the latter. In order to complete such a survey of all the monuments of Nubia, it was now necessary to extend the work of the expedition for the next season (1906-7) through the second cataract and above it to the southernmost monuments in the Nile valley, that is, from the vicinity of Khartûm to the foot of the second cataract. In this stretch of the Nile northward from Khartûm, the river describes a huge double curve of nearly a thousand miles, forming a vast S, which includes five of the six cataract regions, and comprises nearly all of the cataract country (see Map, Fig. 1). In the absorption of the Upper Nile, a process which began in the twenty-fifth century B. C., the Pharaoh's power never extended

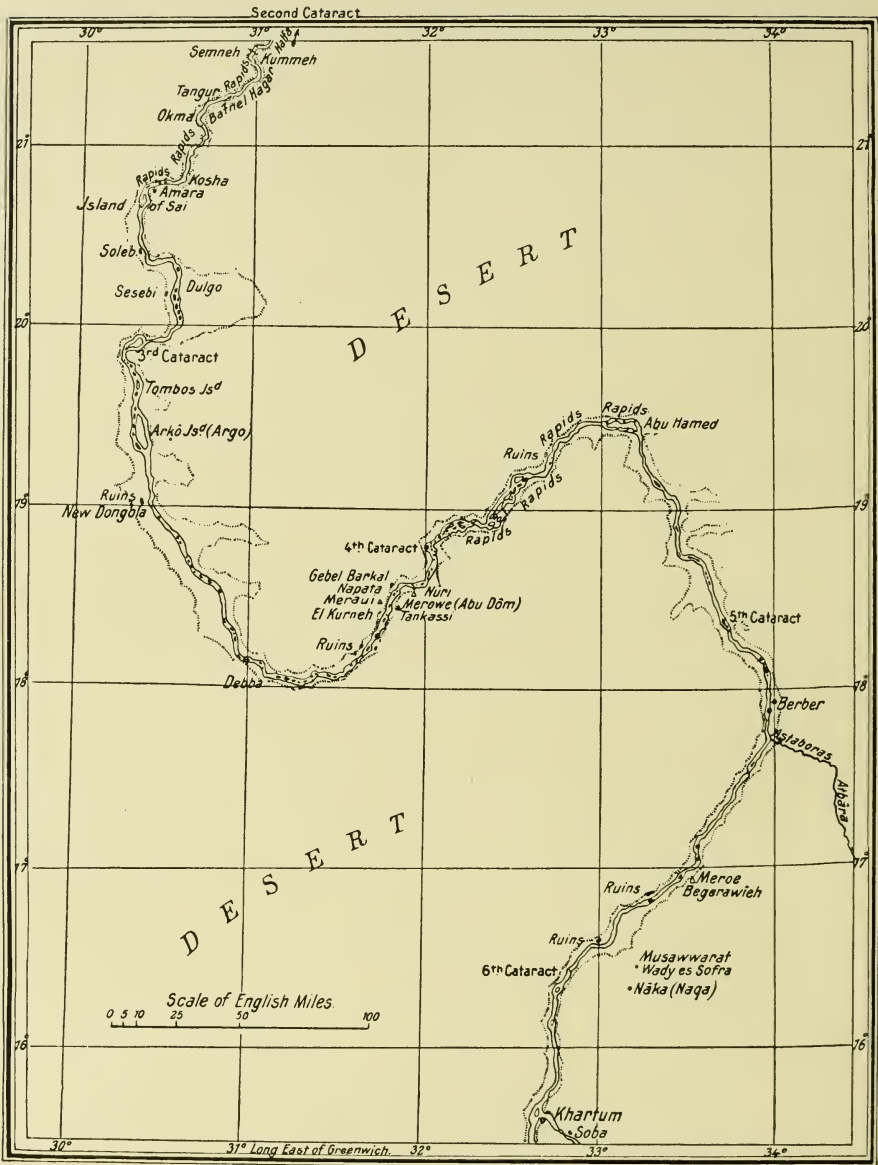


FIG. 1.—Map of the Cataract Region of the Nile, from Khartûm to the Second Cataract (after the Atlas of the Egypt Exploration Fund). The Sudan Railroad cuts across the desert from Halfa [Second Cataract] to Abu Hamed, and then follows the east bank of the Nile to Khartûm. The territory covered by this last campaign of the expedition extends along the river from Naga on the south to the region north of Kummeh and Semneh on the north.

above the fourth cataract, and his final frontier was always the land of Karoy, the country around Napata at the foot of the fourth cataract.¹ Our original plan involved no more than the completion of the monuments within this Pharaonic viceroyalty of Nubia; that is, we did not expect to proceed up the river beyond the Pharaonic frontier at the foot of the fourth cataract. The later independent Nubian kingdom has, however, left important hybrid Egyptian monuments much farther south at the classical Meroe, and at other points still farther up the river, and we finally decided to include these also in at least a rapid visit. The addition of these later Nubian sites made up a heavy winter's work, but in view of the fact that no epigraphic work had been done in the country since the Prussian expedition in 1844, we determined to attempt it. The time at our disposal for these upper sites, however, would necessarily be very limited, as we should be obliged to return in time to pass the cataracts before the fall of the high water, which would have already begun to recede before our arrival in the south.

In making our preparations for the entire trip the Sudan government assisted us in every possible direction. I may say that the trip would have been quite impossible, if we had not enjoyed such help. Sir Reginald Wingate, sirdar and governor-general of the Sudan, showed the most cordial interest in our project, and during his autumn visit in Cairo I was privileged to discuss our plans with him in a delightful interview, in which I learned to know for the first time his great solicitude for the preservation of the ancient monuments in the Sudan, as well as his surprisingly wide and detailed knowledge of them and of the early history of the once afflicted land, which he is now so successfully lifting from anarchy and desolation to prosperity and happiness. Among other things Sir Reginald wrote to all the British governors of the Sudan provinces in which we were to work, requesting them to assist us as far as possible, and this thoughtful measure proved

¹This is distinctly stated on the scarabs of Amenhotep III. The situation of Karoy, as the region about Napata is determined by the data in the tomb of Hui (see my *Ancient Records*, II, §§862 and 1020). There cannot be the slightest doubt that the statuettes of Amenhotep II found by Lepsius at Naga north of Khartûm (see Map, Fig. 1) were later carried thither.

invaluable. It is a privilege to express to him here a sense of our great indebtedness for the unstinted interest and assistance we enjoyed at his hands. To Captain Parker, head of the Intelligence Department of the Sudan in Cairo, the expedition owes great obligation for attention to many preliminary arrangements necessary before we could leave Cairo.

After ten days' work in Cairo, spent in repacking and distributing supplies, they were dispatched to four points along the upper river, where we could pick them up at the proper intervals as needed. On October 20 we left Cairo for Aswan, where we picked up the equipment of last year. The expedition this season enjoyed the experienced services of Mr. N. De G. Davies; with him, the photographer, two native assistants, besides the cook and camp servants, the present writer left Aswan by government post steamer for Halfa on October 24 where we arrived three days later. At the Halfa terminus of Kitchener's famous military railway to Khartûm, we had the good fortune to find an American traffic-manager who had lived in Chicago under the shadow of our university halls. He made it possible for us to take with us in the regular passenger train at baggage rates our thirty boxes of supplies and equipment for the southernmost portion of our trip. Leaving Halfa two hours after our arrival, on the evening of the twenty-seventh, the morning of the twenty-eighth found us approaching the Nile again, having during the night, crossed two hundred and thirty miles of desert, and cut off the great bend of the Nile, the upper loop of the S (measuring some six hundred miles) around which we should follow the river on our return. A glance at the map will show that the railway from Abu Hamed on, may hug the river all the way to the terminus on the Blue Nile opposite Khartûm. On the evening of October 28 our numerous impedimenta were hastily thrown from the train at the little wayside station of Kabushia. As the train pulled out and moved away across the desert, we were left to the silence of the night, and dreams of the ancient capital of Nubia, the mysterious Meroe of the Greeks, the pyramids of which we had descried from the train as we passed, and which, indeed, we could still discern rising dimly on the northern horizon as the night fell.

II. MEROE

We camped beside the little station, having first sent to the neighboring village for camels, whose groaning and complaining awoke us the next morning before dawn. With our stuff loaded upon fourteen camels we had made the two hours' march to the main group of pyramids by ten o'clock, and before night we were snugly stowed away in the small chapels of the pyramids where we lived for two weeks. It is impossible within the limits here necessary, nor does it fall within the purposes of this report, to describe in detail the imposing monuments still surviving at ancient Meroe. The ruins of the city still lie unexcavated, extending for a mile along the river and for nearly a mile inland at the modern village of Begerawiyeh. Here are the remains of three structures, probably temples, of which little more than the ground plan survives. Southeast of the town is a low mound marked on Cailliaud's map² as "restes d'un monument." Cailliaud thought it the remains of a pyramid, but it was clearly a peripteral structure, probably a temple, and reminding one of the similar peripteral building at Musawwarat. I found remains of columns on the north and south sides. The building was oriented with front to the east, approached by a ramp leading to the door, and the whole was surrounded by an inclosure wall of burnt brick, now scarcely showing above the present surface. I mention this building especially as it is not described by Lepsius. It would repay excavation, as of course would the entire site of the ancient city. The great necropolis of the city lay in the desert to the eastward about an hour from the river, but a smaller cemetery lies southeast of the town but fifteen minutes' walk distant, and about ten minutes' walk eastward of the peripteral temple above mentioned. This smaller group of pyramids we called the "west group," while the two parts into which the greater cemetery falls were designated as the "middle" and "east groups" respectively. These were the royal cemeteries. That of the people lay in the desert on the north of the middle and east groups, and has apparently received no attention since the hurried visit of Lepsius as he was leaving Meroe in 1844. The tombs of the people are marked simply by mounds,

² *Voyage à Meroé*, planche II, 150.

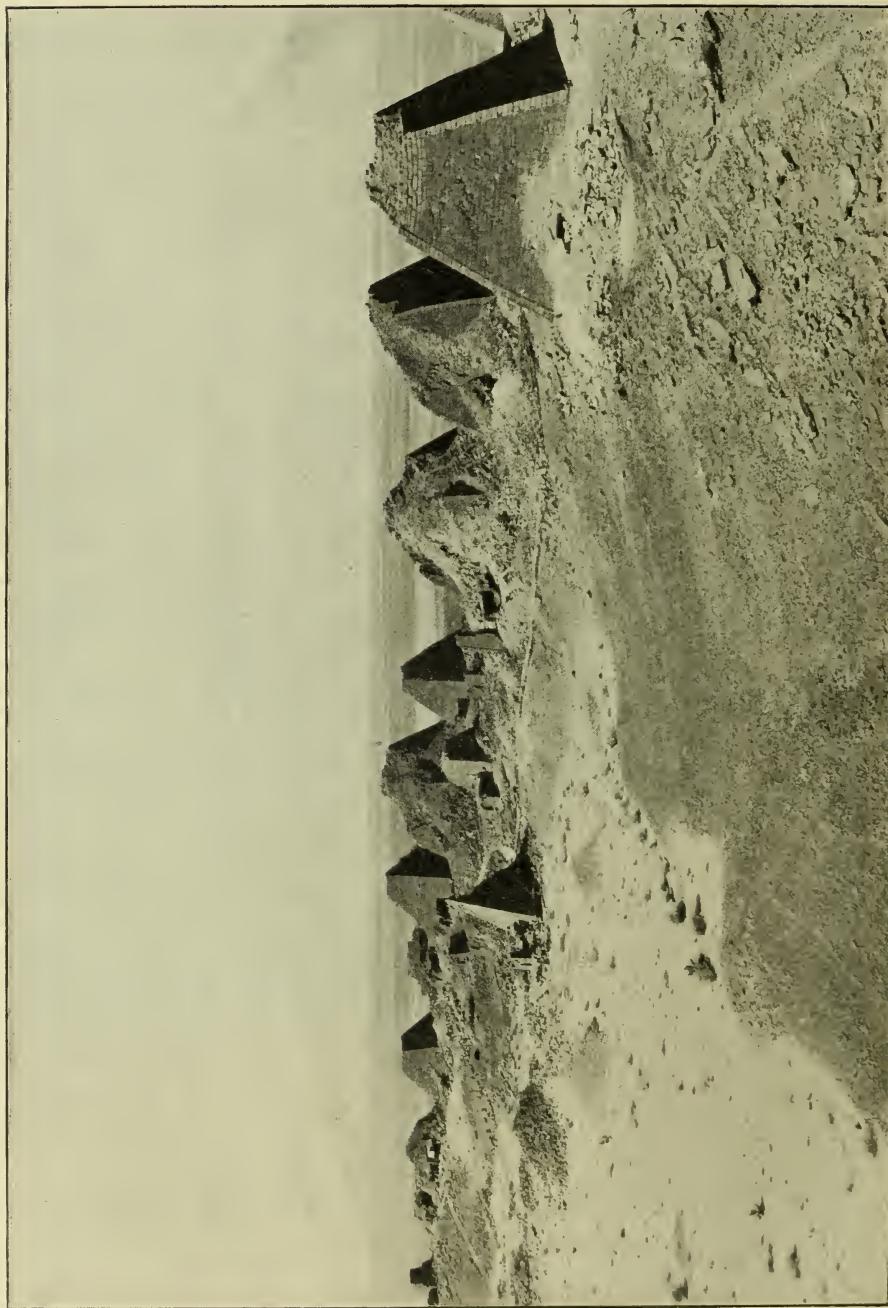


FIG. 2.—Middle Group of Pyramids at Meroe. Looking southwest from the summit of one at the northeast.

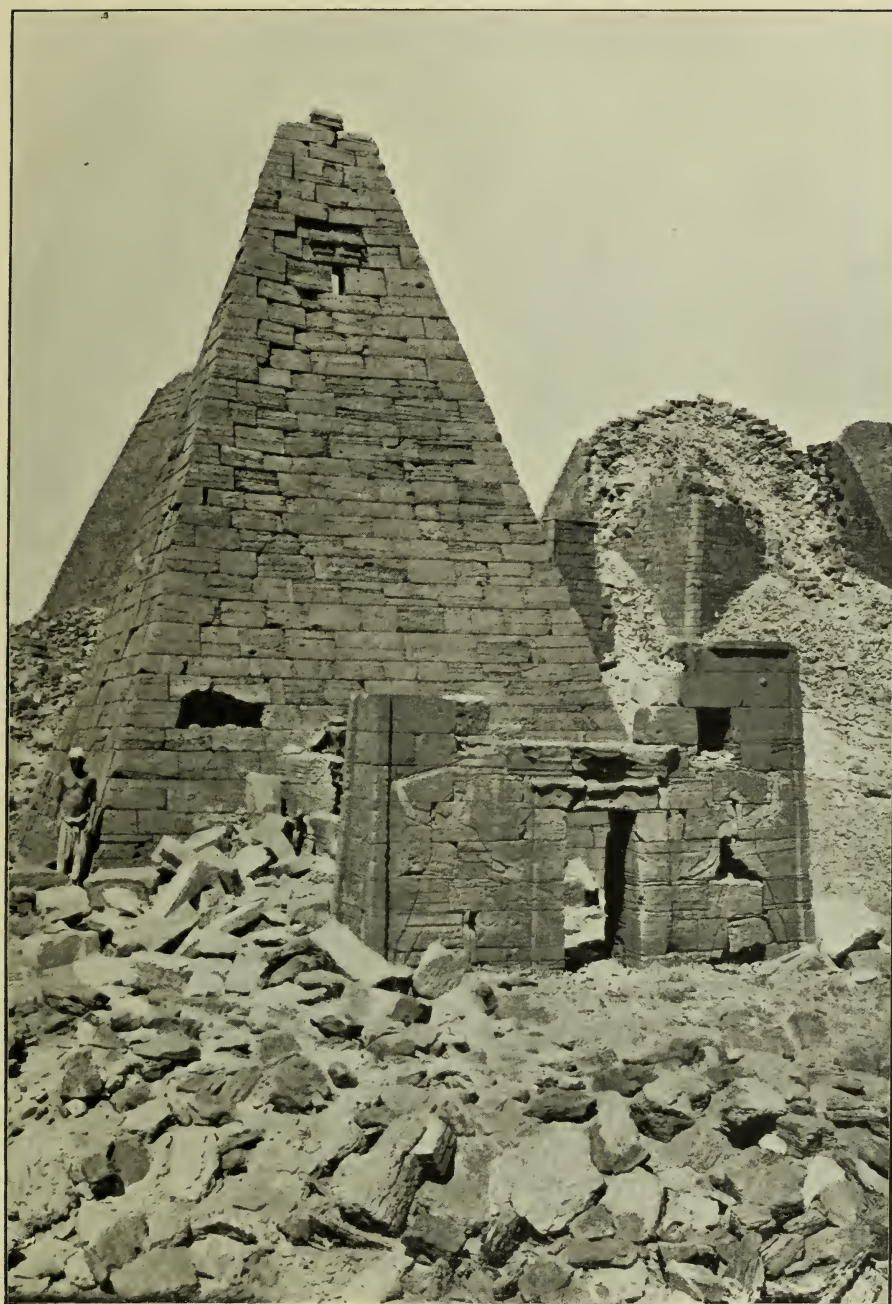


FIG. 3.—East Front of Pyramid at Meroe. Showing window at top, behind which was chamber.

which we had no authorization to excavate, so that I can report nothing of their internal construction. Those of the royalty were pyramids of masonry, built with a much sharper slope than in Egypt, and far smaller in size (Fig. 3). In the majority of cases the burial seems to have been in a chamber in the rock beneath the pyramid, approached by a shaft or an inclined passage from the east. Before the pyramid on the east³ side is a small rec-



FIG. 4.—Meroe, Middle Group, North End of Main Line of Pyramids. Showing chapels buried under rubbish and casing blocks.

tangular chapel usually of a single chamber, backed by the pyramid, fronted by a pylon and containing mortuary reliefs and inscriptions (Fig. 5). In at least seven of the pyramids of the middle group there was near the apex enveloped in the masonry, another chamber without means of access. To the dead, however, it was accessible through a false window or door in the east front

³The Nubian pyramids are oriented to face southeast or south of east, but there is no accuracy or regularity in the matter.



FIG. 5.—Reliefs on North Wall of Chapel of Southermost Pyramid in Middle Group at Meroe.

of the pyramid, at a point exactly opposite the chamber thus hidden in the masonry. This false door, called by Cailliaud "une espèce de fausse lucarne" or dormer-window, is of course the Egyptian false door, so often found as the mortuary entrance in mastaba masonry, or the cliff tombs. In Cailliaud's day there were seven of these false windows still preserved,⁴ but at present only one survives (see Fig. 3). Behind it the hollow of the chamber is still pretty evident. It has been necessary to go into these details, in a matter which does not concern our epigraphic work, because it has been lately stated that Ferlini, the Italian physician, who excavated at these pyramids in 1834, could not possibly have found his splendid treasure of Ethiopic jewelry in a chamber at the top of the pyramid. It is further stated that "in the upper portion of no other pyramid in the Sudan up to the present has any chamber been found."⁵ There can be no doubt that Ferlini found the treasure now in Munich and Berlin, in a chamber at the top of the pyramid as he narrates the discovery.

The chief purpose of our visit, however, was not an investigation of these problems, but to make an epigraphic record of inscribed monuments at Meroe as complete as possible. In this work there was more than enough to be done. The west group which lies on the plain near the town as we have said, is probably the oldest of the three groups. Cailliaud found twenty pyramids there in sufficient preservation to be measured and planned, while the low mounds marking the remains of seventy-five more smaller ones surrounded the group. The only inscriptions, however, as everywhere else among the Nubian pyramids, are in the chapels, and as nearly all the chapels of the west group have disappeared, we found but little to be recorded there. The middle group and the east group are situated on the first ridges of the eastern desert highland in two imposing clusters, separated by a valley which runs up the east side of the middle group and winds away north-eastward. These hills are of the black stone of the region, commonly called "iron-stone," which, indeed, looks precisely like the slag from a large blast furnace. Owing to its blackness it absorbs the radiant heat of the sun, and becomes so hot, that at noonday

Voyage à Meroé, Pl. 37.

⁵ Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, I, 296.

in early November we found work among it all but impossible. It made trouble with instruments, producing such heat that the bubble in the level on one's camera disappeared, I suppose owing to the expansion of the liquid in the glass tube. It was impossible to level a camera for several hours near midday. Cailliaud was able to measure twenty-two pyramids in the middle group, and to determine the situation of sixteen more. In an examination of this site the day after our arrival, I could place only thirty-three with certainty, but there were masses of rubbish and débris on the eastern slope where a number of others might have stood. This is the most important group at Meroe, and had not the knowledge of hieroglyphics on the part of the builders here so declined as to make most of the inscriptions now on the spot very obscure or completely unintelligible, it might have been possible to reconstruct a rough historical outline of the growth of the cemetery and the succession of the kings. Incidentally it should be added that the cursive and other Meroitic inscriptions removed from here by Lepsius, will now, in the course of a few years, become readable as a result of the recent discovery of papyrus fragments of the Nubian New Testament, the first specimens of such literature yet discovered. When these aids are available we shall be able to gain much of the history of the vanished empire of which these pyramids are the most considerable surviving remains. While we could observe here and there structural evidences of a long history, like the erection of a pyramid partially covering the still discernible base of an older pyramid, or reused blocks with the sculpture up-side-down, too many of the chapels had been removed or had totally perished, or what remained was in too bad a state of preservation to furnish a basis for any historical reconstruction of the group. Even where the inscriptions are well preserved, a rare circumstance, they are more often than not quite too corrupt to be intelligible. Long study and application will secure something from some of them, but such study of our copies has not yet been possible. It should be noted, however, that one circumstance points to the greater age of the pyramids at the south end of this group. The latter all contain plentiful hieroglyphic inscriptions scattered among the figures of the reliefs, whereas in the main line

(western row) of this group, the last four pyramids (Fig. 4) and possibly the fifth (but its chapel is deeply buried) exhibit the usual panels for the lines of hieroglyphics, which have, however, never been inserted. This can only indicate a later period when knowledge of hieroglyphic had about disappeared. The panels were prepared, but no one could be found to fill them.

It was unfortunately impossible to carry out the methods of record developed during our first season's work. The heat was so great as to make development of negatives on a large scale quite impossible; nor was our excellent portable dark room, which we set up beside one of the chapels, large enough to permit of such work on the scale demanded by such a great quantity of work. We were obliged to suspend our otherwise unvarying rule of developing, and, if possible, of the use of a print on the spot, until we could reach our boat. More than ordinarily important things, and especially difficult and doubtful exposures, were developed before we left, and done again if not satisfactory, but it was impossible to furnish prints and to collate them with the original walls as we did on our first campaign. We adopted the plan of copying all inscriptions by hand, while depending chiefly on the photograph for the reliefs, and for paleographic accuracy. The long narrow chapels, not wide enough to give the camera sufficient distance from the wall to focus, caused much difficulty and delay in this work. The corrupt character of the texts, and the bad state of preservation also made the work of hand copying likewise slow and laborious in the extreme. A record of a number of the fallen and dismantled chapels was furthermore made impossible, by the fact that as the inscribed blocks lay scattered about upon the ground, the rubbish from Budge's excavations had been thrown over them, making it out of the question for us to attempt to rebuild or reconstruct such chapels, in order to piece together the reliefs and inscriptions which they still bear. Many of them deeply buried under excavator's rubbish were hopelessly inaccessible. Furthermore, the shifting of scattered blocks in the course of these excavations, and of the "road-making" carried on at the same time, had resulted in intermixture of the sculptured blocks from different chapels, till we found it next to impossible to sift

them out again. Such chapels will probably never be recorded in full.

The large pyramid at the northern end of the main row (middle group) has discharged a huge and dangerous mass of core masonry, rubbish and heavy blocks eastward over the entire chapel, so that we found it impossible to clear it (Fig. 4). A strong presumption of the character of the sculptures it contains was furnished by its neighbor the second pyramid from the north end, the chapel of which we cleared out, and recorded in full. The places for the hieroglyphics in the sculptures were all left empty. I believe this chapel has not before been cleared. We cleared out six chapels in this group. The chapel of the pyramid at the extreme northwest contained a few pieces of blue glazed ware exactly like that of the Saitic age. I should say, therefore, that this group began not later than the Persian age, and continued into the Christian era.

In the eastern group across the intervening valley, Cailliaud measured nine pyramids and counted thirty-eight more. Some thirty are now traceable, but sixteen more low mounds are discernible on the hill west of the south end. In the chapel of pyramid No. 5 our excavation disclosed a very fragile offering-tablet of the deceased king, inscribed with his name. It was possible to copy this, but the crumbling condition of the stone made it impossible to rescue the tablet itself. In chapel No. 6, however, we discovered a well-preserved royal offering-tablet, also bearing the royal names and titles (see Fig. 6) and this monument we were able to forward in good condition to the museum at Khartûm.

The unexpected condition of the pyramids at Meroe involved much more labor than we had anticipated, and we were obliged to proceed much more rapidly than I desired, or than our usual plan of work permits. As the first attempt, however, to secure and preserve a complete record of all the documents surviving there, our negatives and copies may serve as permanent archives of the place. So many of the chapels contain duplicate scenes, that probably only a small proportion of the inscribed walls that have perished are really lost. We were disappointed at finding practically no inscriptions in the Meroitic script. The most important were

removed by Lepsius, and in view of the subsequent fate of so much on this site, it is a matter of congratulation that he did so. The quarries, from which the stone was taken for these pyramids, are in the eastern ridge farther out in the desert. Visiting these on the last day of our stay, I found that the vast quarry-halls had been pushed entirely through the top of the hill to the other side



FIG. 6.—Inscription on Sandstone Offering-Tablet of Ergamenes. Found in a chapel of the east group at Meroe, now at Khartûm.

at least five hundred feet. Enormous masses of stone chips have been shot over the slope and lie like a mountain on the eastern incline of the ridge. The place must have been worked for centuries to produce such vast excavations. In one portion several hundred feet long, the roof of the hall has fallen in, producing an enormous crater in the top of the hill. Such a quarry from ancient Egyptian times would undoubtedly contain a number of inscriptions left by officials and architects in charge of the work; but unfortunately I found none here.

III. NAGA AND MUŞAWWARÂT

Having spent two weeks at the ruins of Meroe, Sunday, November 11, found us again on the line of the Khartûm railway, and by evening we were encamped at Wad Ben Naga, forty-eight miles south of the pyramids of Meroe. In Lepsius' day, this trip would have consumed from two to three days. The next day we were somewhat delayed by dearth of camels, and leaving Wad Ben Naga some three hours late, began the twenty-four-mile march south-eastward into the desert to the temples of Naga. Darkness overtook us long before our destination was reached, and although our late start had made it impossible to stop for anything to eat, I shall never forget the evening march across the starlit desert. To one familiar only with the desert of the north in Egyptian latitudes, this southern desert is a great surprise with its green wadis, water worn from the rains, and supporting considerable trees and groves. In a broadening of such a valley called Wadi Auatêb, a long day's march from the river, stand the temples of Naga (Fig. 7), the work of the same Nubian rulers who are buried at Meroe. They evidently had an important residence here. On the northwest of a group of at least six temples there are the remains of numerous buildings of stone, and brick, three of which at least were considerable colonnaded structures. The oldest temple here (Fig. 8) evidently dates from Ptolemaic times, while the not unpleasing kiosk (Fig. 10) before the temple of the great queen (Fig. 9) is evidently of Roman age. The Sudan Government have erected an excellent rest-house here, and dug a deep well, furnishing good water, so that work in this remote site is now practicable and easy. We exhaustively photographed and copied the numerous reliefs and inscriptions here, but as compared with Meroe, the enigma of it all was even more puzzling, an impression which was only heightened after a hot half day's march northward to the ruins of Muşawwarât (Fig. 11). Here is a vast complex of stone masonry, once the palace of the Nubian line. It is some three hundred paces square, and in the midst of a raised base is a sumptuous peripteral building (Fig. 12), more likely to have been a state hall than a temple. Just northeast of it there is, however, an evident temple, and at the north end of the site still another.



FIG. 7.—General View of the Plain and Temples of Naga from Northeast.



FIG. 8.—Column and Rear Doors of Ptolemaic Temple at Naga.

East of the palace a half-mile out in the desert are two more temples, the larger of which contains almost the only reliefs to be found at the place. These latter temples are close to the vast walls of an extensive reservoir, which supplied the royal residence with water. There are practically no inscriptions here at all.



FIG. 9.—Temple of the Queen of the Ferlini Jewelry, at Naga.

Throughout the course of his work at Meroe, Naga, and Muṣawwarât, the Egyptologist feels himself suddenly projected into a totally unknown chapter of history and art. The sculptures reveal a different world, and are not estimable by any analogies known to the observer, while, to increase his bewilderment, the inscriptions refuse to yield up their secrets. Undoubtedly the coming decipherment of the Meroitic inscriptions will relieve us of much of this embarrassment. It was with something of relief, therefore, that our short visit at Muṣawwarât concluded our rapid excursion into these monuments of the far south. While Mr. Davies and

myself made a brief visit in Khartûm, unfortunately much hampered by the festivities of Bairam, the nineteenth of November found us encamped at Abu Hamed at the head of the long fourth cataract region, at a point where the Nile turns sharply south-westward for some two hundred miles (see map, Fig. 1).



FIG. 19.—Temple of Roman Age at Naga.

IV. FOURTH CATARACT REGION

Of this stretch of two hundred miles, about one hundred and forty are so broken up by outcropping of the granite through the Nubian sandstone, that it forms one long succession of often dangerous rapids, the lower of which are known as the "fourth cataract," though the entire group from Abu Hamed onward is also frequently included in the term. This region is the second serious obstruction to navigation in the ascent of the Nile. Though the second cataract is even worse it is not quite so long,

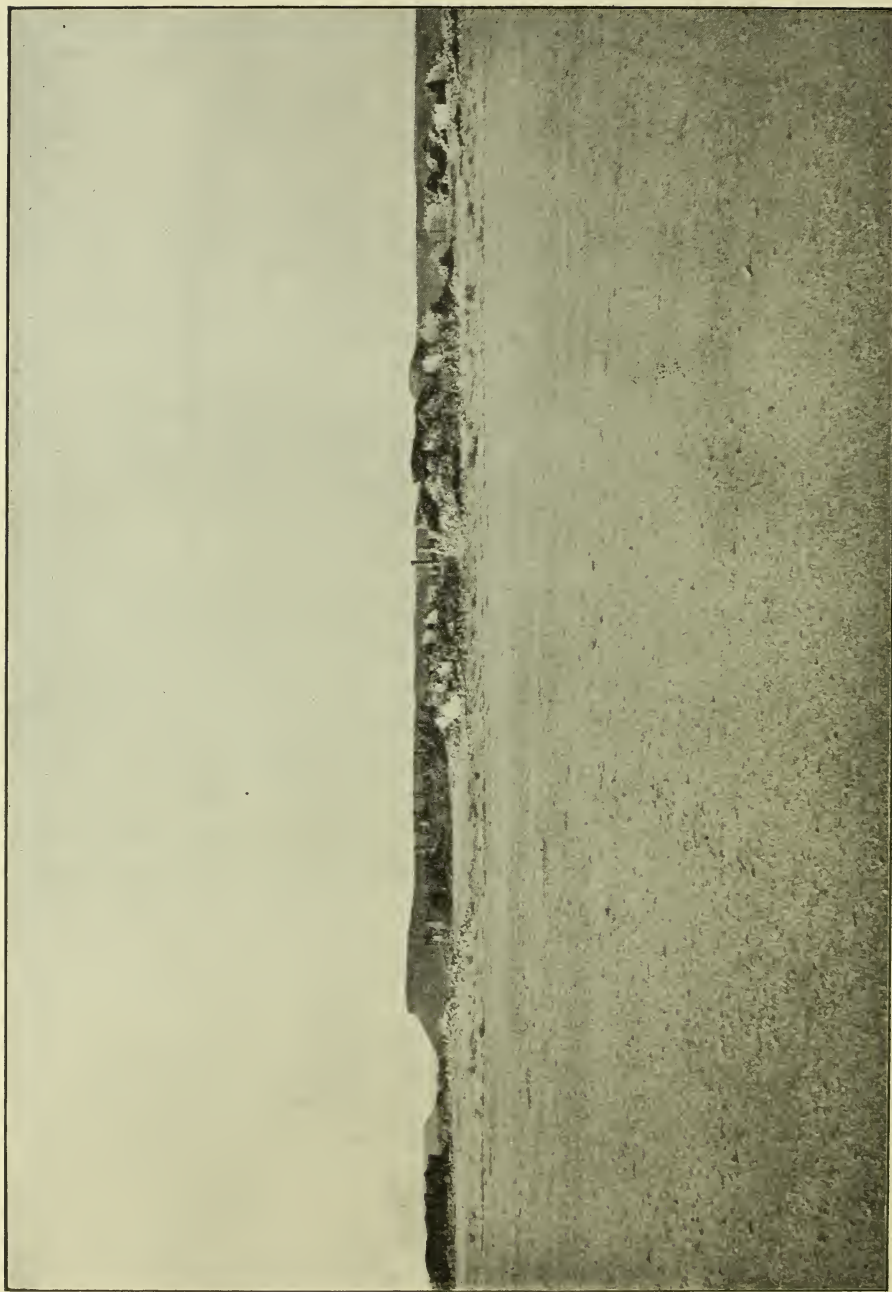


FIG. 11.—General View of Palace and Temples at Musawwarat from Northeast.

and is so comparatively near their ancient frontier, that the Pharaohs successfully passed it. The fourth cataract, however, is so remote and so long that the Pharaohs never surmounted it. They were never able to push their frontier above it. At its foot they built a frontier administrative city, Napata, and at the greatest expansion of the Empire, Karoy, the region about Napata, was

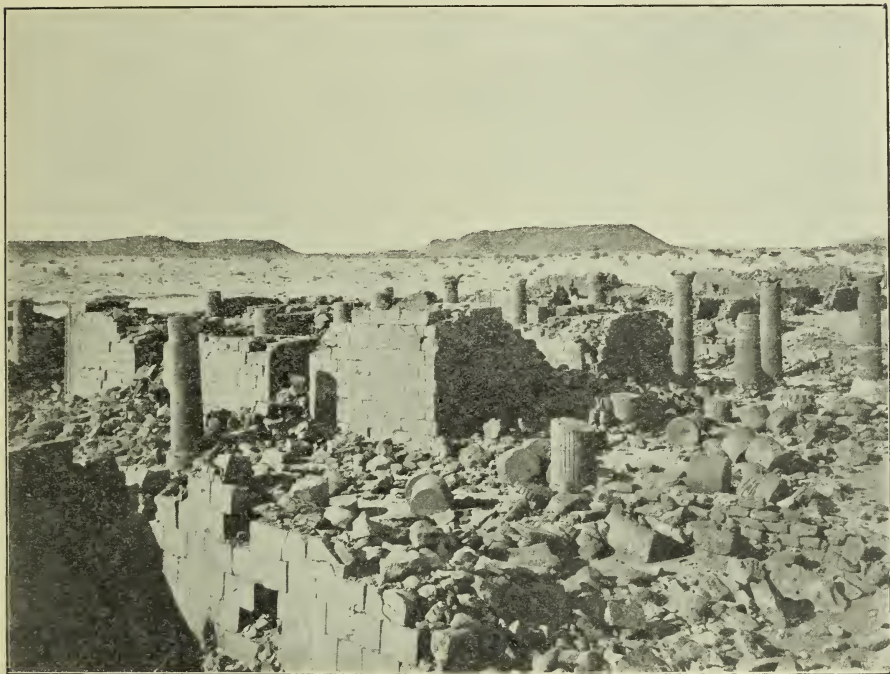


FIG. 12.—Central Peripteral Building at Muṣawwarāt from Northwest.

officially called the southern limit of the Pharaoh's country. Here, then, we were about to enter territory whose monuments we could read, and we felt more at home. I had some hopes that we might happen upon the southern boundary land-marks of the Empire; for Minhotep, an officer of Amenhotep II, has left an inscription in the quarries at Turra, near Cairo, stating that in the land of Karoy (the southern boundary), and in the land of Naharin on the Euphrates (the northern boundary), he had erected the tablets of the king.⁶

⁶ See the author's *Ancient Records*, II, § 800.

Arrived at Abu Hamed, the feast of Bairam was not yet over, and we had much difficulty in securing a good boat for the descent of the cataracts. The only boat at Abu Hamed suitable for the dangerous voyage had been brought down from Khartûm, and the owner refused to sell it. The mamûr was doing all in his power to secure another, and the omdeh promised us one from a village farther up the river, but it was several days before it arrived, and then it seemed too small and hardly staunch enough to descend the rapids. A fortnight later when we had safely accomplished the descent of the cataract, we learned that a native who had embarked in this boat with his four wives was unable to keep it afloat in the cataract. It sank and all four of the women were drowned. The owner of the other boat was finally prevailed upon by the omdeh and the mamûr to part with it for fifteen pounds. It was about twenty feet long, eight feet wide, and two and a half feet deep, and built so heavily that when we put off with ten people in it, besides a good deal of baggage, on the afternoon of November 22, it carried all with ease. A small caravan which followed us on the right bank, carried further supplies, from which we drew whenever necessary. The voyage of one hundred and forty miles through the successive rapids of the cataract was one of surpassing interest, with a sufficient spice of danger and risk almost every day, to banish all tedium.

It is impossible in the space at command here, to do more than indicate the character and chief difficulties of a search for records in this region. We began with an attempt to search the islands and cliffs of the shore with thoroughness for such inscriptions as are regularly found in frontier districts of this kind farther down the river. This soon proved to be an enterprise of great difficulty. As soon as the numerous islands, sometimes of great size, began to lie in the stream several abreast, we could descend but one of several channels, and having descended, often through difficult rapids, it was impossible to reach the other islands. For if we succeeded in threading the numerous rocks in swift water and reaching the mainland to go back to a point opposite the islands passed, it was impossible to bring back the boat, with which to cross over to them. Often the current was so swift that it was

impossible to make a landing on an island we might be passing, because of numerous rocks, ugly and jagged, projecting far out into the stream along the shore. Our search finally resolved itself into careful observation of all smooth rocks facing the river, with a glass, in the hope that one of the earlier emperors might have marked his farthest advance there, as the Twelfth Dynasty Pharaohs did in the



FIG. 13.—Landscape in the Fourth Cataract Region.

second cataract region. But this search was necessarily, for the above reasons, confined to the particular channel down which we were passing. It is impossible here to devote any space to description of this wild and interesting region so little known to archaeologists.⁷ Suffice it to say that the only ruins which we came upon were the strongholds of the petty Nubian kinglets, the "meleks" whom travelers of a century ago found still ruling their tiny kingdoms, the fragments of the once great Nubian empire. Situated on commanding cliffs and jutting rocks, their dark sun-dried brick walls and battlements formed a picturesque center in not a few scenes

⁷ Cailliaud is the only one who passed through it.

of wild and solitary grandeur in this remote wilderness. A melancholy memorial of later history in this region we found on the island of Um Duêma, about half an hour by river below El Kab. Here lies the wreck of Colonel Stewart's steamer, sent out by Gordon, while beleaguered in Khartûm, with dispatches for the outside world (Fig. 14). Obligated by the wreck of his boat to land in



FIG. 14.—Fragments of Colonel Stewart's Steamer in the Fourth Cataract Region.

these dangerous waters, a disaster doubtless due to the treachery of his reis, Stewart was fallen upon by the crafty Arabs of the Monasir, still living in the region, and he and all his party were massacred.

On November 30, having been nine days in the rapids, we emerged at the foot of the fourth cataract into smooth water. At this point we met for the first time the cordial assistance of Colonel Jackson, C. B., governor of the Dongola Province, who did all in his power to further our work. He placed at our disposal one of his picturesque Nubian police, who accompanied us throughout our work in the Dongola Province. For his warm hospitality and

ever-ready assistance we owe him a great debt of gratitude. Here at Kareima we were able to take possession of the two nuggers, or native cargo-boats, each of which was fitted with a deck-house for our occupancy, by the government Department of Steamers and Boats under the direction of Mr. C. H. Page, to whom our thanks are due for much assistance. The larger of the two boats was



FIG. 15.—A Bivouack in the Fourth Cataract Region. Boat in which the Expedition descended the rapids from Abu Hamed to Gebel Barkal (140 miles).

about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, and bore forward of the cabin a convenient dark-room, one of the most necessary things in our equipment. Such nuggers are equipped with two masts, and their sailing abilities are very well understood by the native reises; but being built with insufficient depth of keel, in order to decrease the draught, they are unable to sail down-stream with the wind abeam, and soon drift in upon the lee shore, a difficulty which caused us many a long delay. After several days spent in settling our outfit on board, we could devote our attention to the antiquities of the vicinity.

V. NAPATA (GEBEL BARKAL)

Across the river on the east, at the very foot of the cataract, are the pyramids of Nûri, perhaps the oldest pyramids in Nubia (Fig. 18). Here eight are still standing in some degree of preservation, while at least thirty-six more are scattered about as mere heaps. They are oriented roughly at southwest to northeast,



FIG. 16.—Running the Amrahwa Rapids, the Last of the Fourth Cataract.

and some at least are of solid stone masonry to the center, though of such poor quality that they must of necessity rapidly fall to pieces. The chapels are heaps of ruins, preserving none of the sculptures or inscriptions. Here probably lie the kings of Nubia, for a brief time lords also of Egypt, against whom the prophet Isaiah declaimed in the streets of Jerusalem. The exact situation of their city of Napata is still a matter of some uncertainty, but its state temples, with traces of the neighboring palaces, lie at the foot of the imposing mount of Barkal (Gebel Barkal), a half-hour's walk from Kareima, and twenty-five minutes from the river

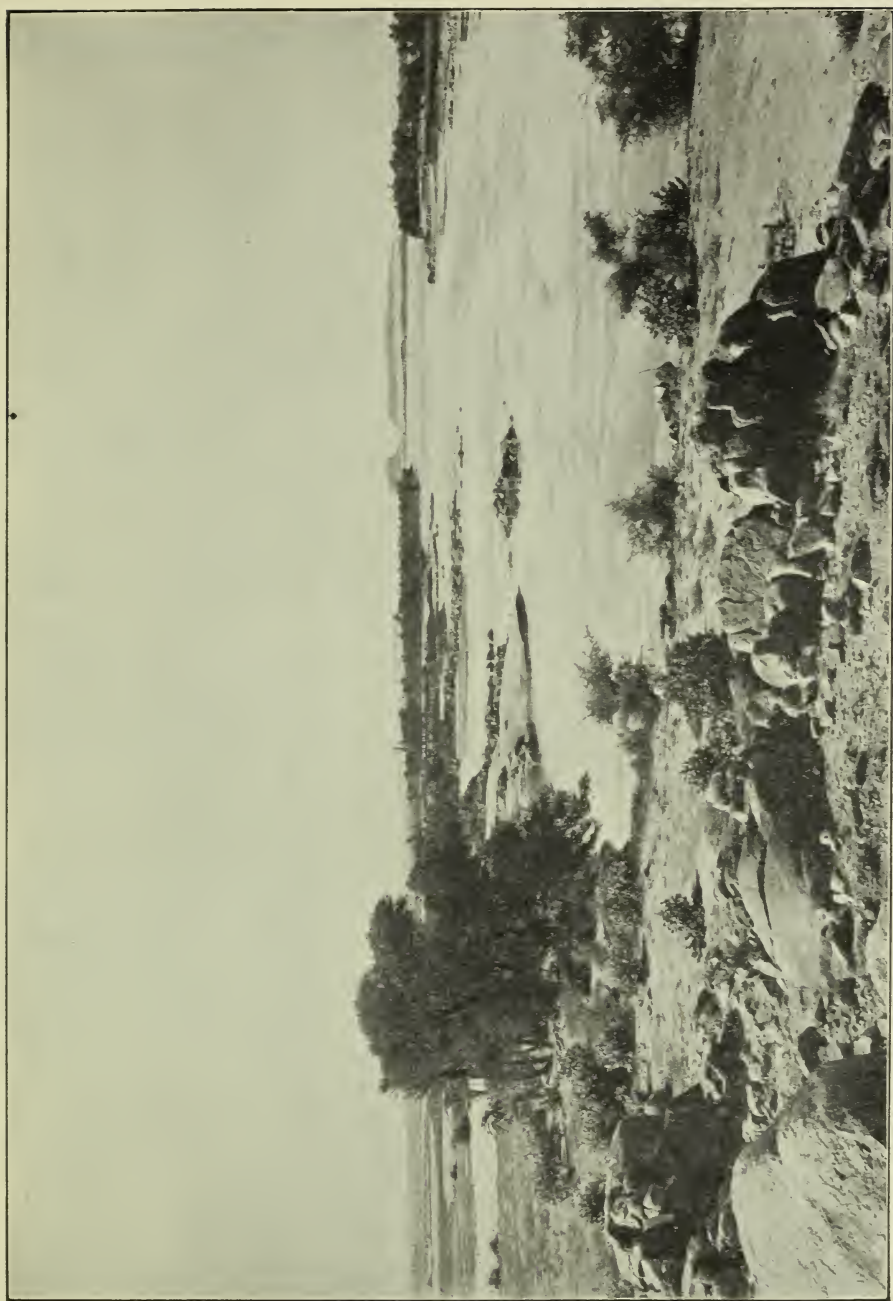


FIG. 17.—Looking down the Left Channel at the Foot of the Fourth Cataract. (Gebel Barkal is behind the trees on the left; a similar mountain on the right of the middle. The wooded shore on the right is an island.)

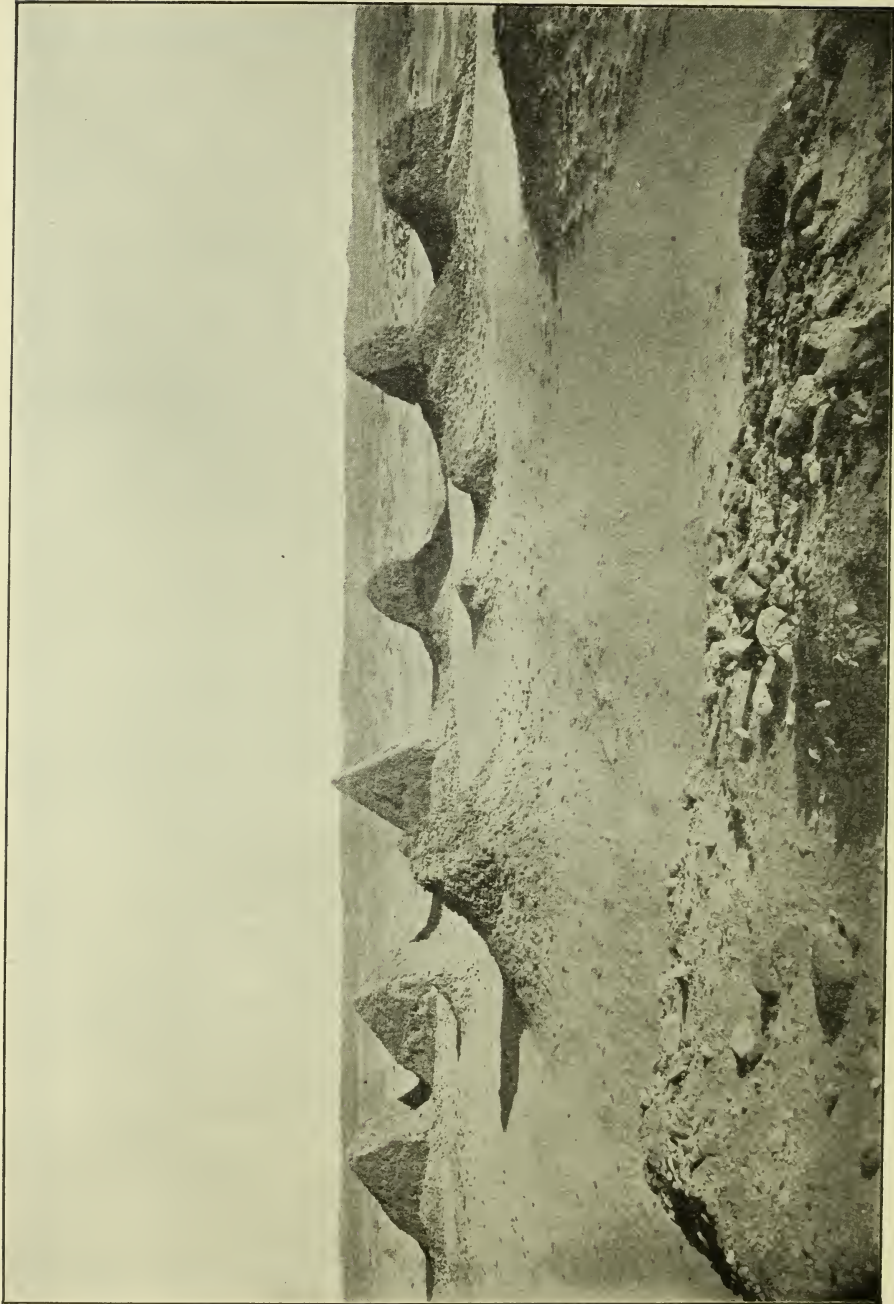


FIG. 18.—General View of the Pyramids of Nuri.

on the right bank. Here in the eighth century B. C. grew up the first independent Nubian kingdom, which in the last quarter of the eighth century B. C. absorbed Egypt, and held it, with the exception of the Delta, taken by the Assyrians, until 661 B. C. A hundred years later, perhaps impelled by the campaign of Psammetichos II against Nubia, these Nubian princes were already occupying their southern capital of Meroe, after which time they no longer resided so frequently at Napata. But the earlier history of the place dates far back of the rise of the Nubian kingdom. Seven hundred years earlier, in the middle of the fifteenth century B. C., we find Amenhotep II here hanging a rebellious vassal, whom he had brought from Tikhsi in Asia, upon the walls of Napata, as an example to the Nubians. It is a remarkable thing, therefore, that no remains of the imperial age, back of the independent Nubians, can be found at Napata.⁸ The buildings now known there all date from the Twenty-fifth or Nubian Dynasty; but from the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the Pharaohs took possession of the place, on through the intervening dynasties, to the Twenty-fourth, no monuments have as yet been discovered there.

Looking out through the palms of the village of Barkal, northward across the fields and the desert the splendid yellow mass of Mount Barkal rises on the northern horizon behind the rich green of the palms (Fig. 19). On the southern flank of the mount, facing the observer as he approaches from the river, are ranged the scanty ruins of six temples, extending in general in an east and west line, and mostly facing east of south (Fig. 20). On the west of the mount are two groups of pyramids. The temples have suffered so sadly that epigraphic work exists only in the large temple at the extreme east, and in another near the west end of the row.

The large eastern temple is the oldest now known at Napata, the granite base of a chapel at the rear end showing the name of a Piankhi, probably the great Piankhi who conquered Egypt in the second half of the eighth century B. C. An altar of Taharka (688-663 B. C.) also stands in a side chapel at the rear. But the

⁸ Lepsius states that he found the name of Ramses II here, but this was doubtless the throne-name assumed by a later Nubian. We also found the name of Wśr-m't-R' (throne-name of Ramses II) here, but it was clearly later Nubian work. These late Nubians frequently assumed the great names of Egyptian Pharaohs.



FIG. 19.—Gebel Barkal Viewed through the Palms of Barkal Village Looking north of west (pyramids visible on horizon at left of mountain).

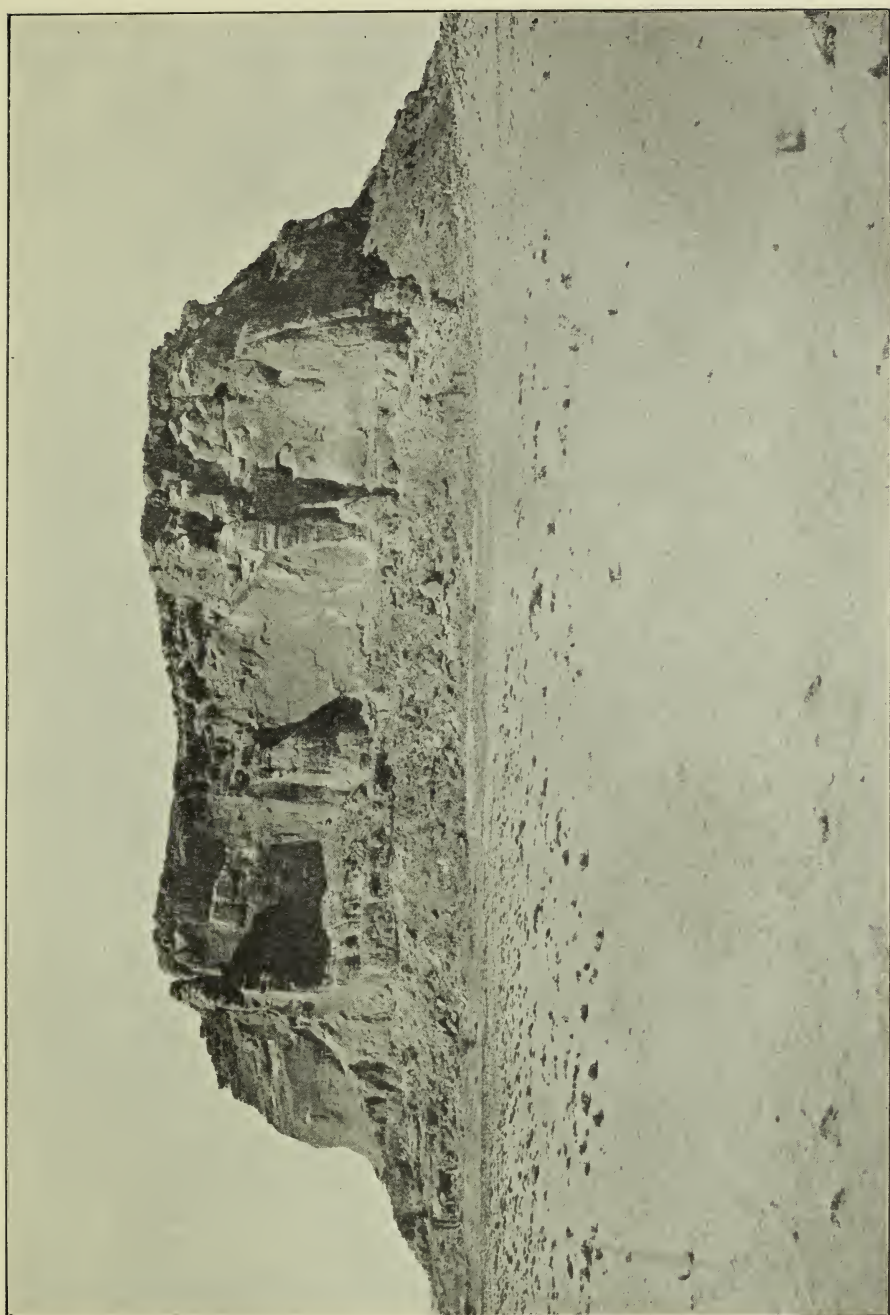


FIG. 20.—Gebel Barkal or Mount Barkal, and the Ruined Temples of Ancient Napata at its Base (at right is great Nubian temple of Amon, at extreme left temple of Tirhaka [Taharka]).

hall and the large court in front certainly belong to a much later age, and doubtless date from the early centuries of the Christian era. The later Nubian kings who built the large court adorned it with sculptures which they took from older temples. Especially notable are the two noble lions now in the British Museum, and the ram at Berlin, all of which were carried from Amenhotep III's temple at Soleb.⁹ A number of such rams still mark the avenue down the axis of the forecourt, though they are all but one now covered with rubbish.

It was in this temple that the annals of the Nubian king, recorded on granite stelae, were discovered by an Egyptian official in 1862. They were shortly after removed and brought to Egypt by order of Mariette. In the series of stelae thus rescued, those of the kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty who disputed with Assyria the possession of Palestine and lower Egypt are entirely lacking, leaving a noticeable gap. I therefore very much desired to find some of the old men of the neighboring villages, who might remember where these stelae had been taken out over forty years ago. At this juncture we received a very welcome visit from Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, acting curator of the Antiquities of the Sudan, to whom we are indebted for much information, and who extended to us every assistance in his power at all times. With his aid and that of Mr. Woodland, inspector at Meraui (Merowe) an aged native was found who told us with accuracy and detail the story of how the stelae were excavated and removed, and pointed out the place without hesitation. He took us to the forecourt of the large eastern temple, and pointing to the rear of the court, indicated the wall of the western half of the second pylon, or rear wall of the forecourt, as the place where the stelae had stood. We therefore engaged a body of natives and set them at work clearing the other half of the pylon. We kept from forty to sixty men on the place for a week, and removed the rubbish from an area extending almost out to the adjoining row of columns (see

⁹ In view of the explicit statement in the inscription of the late Nubian king on one of the lions, that he carried it off, and the explicit statement of Amenhotep III on all of the sculptures that they were made for Soleb, no time need be spent in discussing the denials recently expressed (Budge, *Sudan*, I, 618 f., where the statement of the Nubian king is unknown, and the illustrations of the ram are accompanied by the statement that they were placed by Amenhotep III at Soleb, though the text of the book denies this fact).

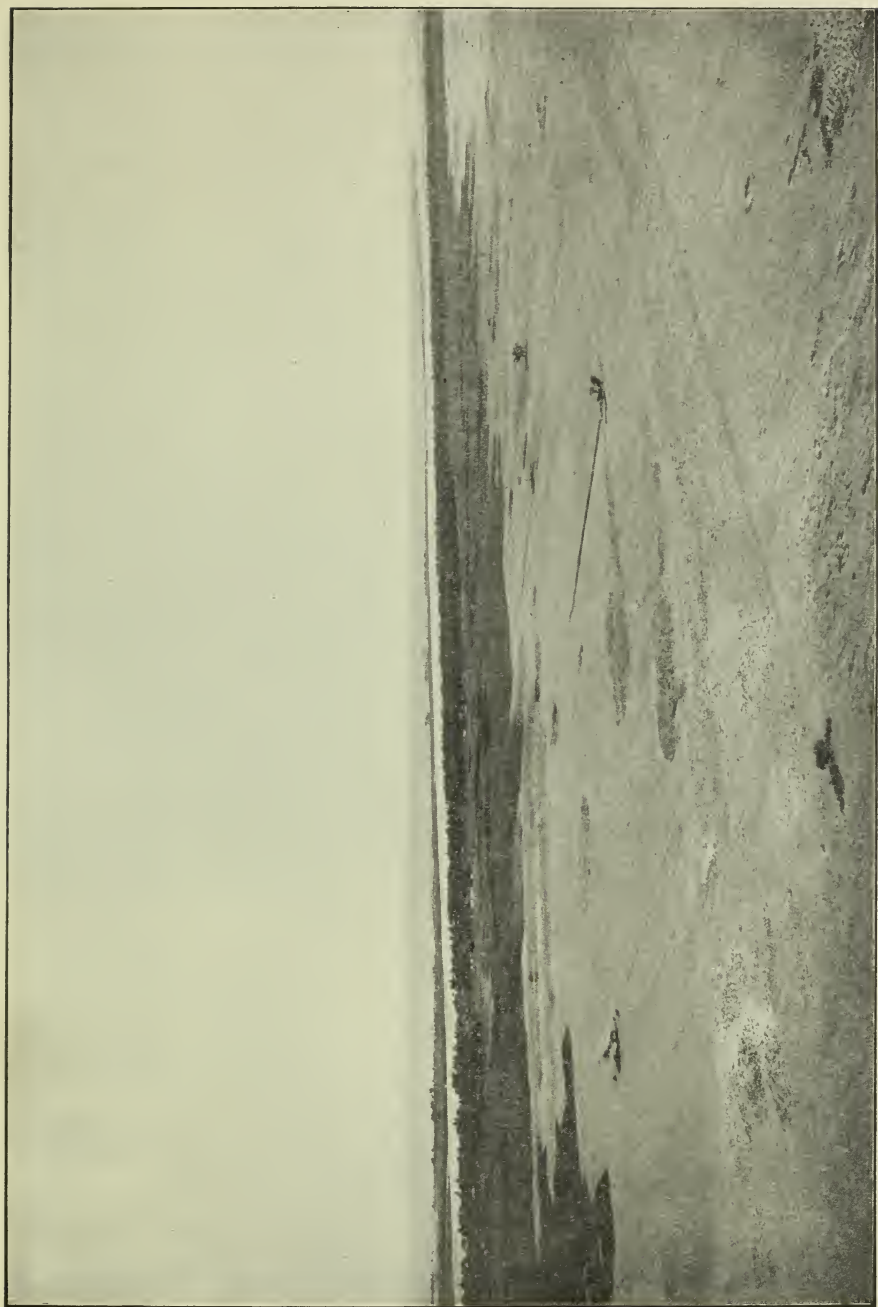


FIG. 21.—View Southwestward from the Summit of Mount Barkal. Looking down river across Barkal village and fields of the Dongola Province to New Merowe (Abu Dôm) six miles below on the other shore.

Fig. 22). Descending to the level of the pavement, we found that it had been removed. No trace of any stelae was discernible. The excavation disclosed reliefs on the pylon of enormous dimensions, showing the king slaying his enemies in the conventional style before Amon. On the westernmost column on this side of the court a perfectly preserved Meroitic inscription was found. The clear-



FIG. 22.—Excavations in First Court of Great Amon Temple at Napata (Gebel Barkal).

ance also exposed a long relief on the inside of the east wall of the court. It depicts the sacred barque containing the image of Amon borne on the shoulders of the priests. Before it, in the place occupied by the Pharaoh in Egyptian reliefs of the kind, the high priest offers incense, while *behind him* follows the king. This is a striking corroboration of the classic stories of the pre-eminence of the priesthood in the Nubian kingdom. In the accompanying inscription occurs the name of a queen who is mentioned on a statue in the Berlin Museum which was found in Upper Egypt.¹⁰

¹⁰ Berlin, No. 4437. The name is probably to be read 'nh-Pkrs r'y. I am indebted for the reference to the Berlin statue to my friend Schaefer (see *AZ*, 43, 48).

Evidently the connection between this Nubian kingdom and that of Egypt in later times was not entirely broken.

The three small temples lying immediately west of the large eastern temple have now almost disappeared, and what little they offer need not be summarized here. The other important temple



FIG. 23.—Temple of Taharka at Napata (Gebel Barkal).

here is the second from the western end, built by Taharka (Fig. 23). It consists of two colonnaded halls of masonry, followed by a third hall, which, with three chambers behind it, is cut into the cliffs of the mountain. The dedication inscription furnishes a hint of its history, for in it Taharka states that he "found this temple built [by the hand] of the ancestors, a small work" and that he thereupon rebuilt it. Undoubtedly this was then the Empire temple. It is dedicated to Mut; the large eastern temple was therefore the state temple of Amon, while one of the small

temples between will have been the sanctuary of Khonsu, the other member of the Theban triad.

While at work upon this temple we received a visit from Colonel Jackson, the governor, who has evinced the greatest interest in the Barkal temples. But for his work of conservation there would not be a column left standing among them. Cut by the wind-driven sand, they are slowly eaten away at the base, and would long since have fallen, but for the staunch masonry with which he has supported them, as well as, also, the walls of the transverse hall of Taharka's temple. Approaching for work here one morning we found a knot of natives excavating at a spot where none of our men had ever been placed, and I immediately investigated what they were doing. There was a funeral taking place in a neighboring cemetery, and these men were taking out flat stones to lay upon the body in the grave before it was covered up. On inquiry it was found that they had been accustomed to do this from time immemorial. It was thus evident why so much of these temples had disappeared since the time of Cailliaud. On being informed of these facts, Colonel Jackson had the chief men of the neighboring villages summoned and Mr. Woodland, the inspector, informed them of the severe penalties which they would incur on any repetition of the offense.¹¹

The pyramids on the west of the mountain contain six well-preserved specimens (Fig. 24) but the chapels are in such bad condition that they furnished only scanty materials like those obtained from the chapels at Meroe. There are seven pyramids on the crown of the slope and ten more, totally dismantled, on the lower ground farther south. Structurally they are of the greatest interest, for the summits of three are better preserved than any other pyramids in Nubia. Here at the provincial capital of Upper Nubia, where the Twenty-fifth Dynasty largely resided, we might expect them to contain the bodies of the earliest Nubian kings. But this problem is still unsettled.

On the twentieth of December, having spent three weeks on the ruins of Barkal, our two boats cast off for the voyage of over

¹¹ The enactments of the Antiquities Ordinance issued for the protection of the monuments by the Sudan Government, provide for a year's imprisonment as the penalty for such destruction of ancient monuments.

three hundred and thirty miles around the western segment of the upper half of the S, through the third cataract to the head of the long series of rapids, of which the last and worst is called the second cataract (see map, Fig. 1). We anticipated leaving the boats at Kosha, one hundred and fifteen miles above Halfa, at the foot of



FIG. 24.—The Pyramids at Napata (Gebel Barkal) from the Summit of Mount Barkal (taken with telephoto attachment).

the second cataract. Five miles from Barkal we made our first stop at Merowe, the present capital of the Dongola Province, and the residence of the governor. Here we enjoyed the cordial hospitality of Colonel Jackson, under whom the Dongola Province is enjoying the most flourishing prosperity. He showed us the remains on an ancient site east and southeast of the present town. The excavations made in erecting a blockhouse during Kitchener's campaign against the Dervishes had accidentally uncovered the remains of a temple with a colonnaded hall, though the ground-

plan could not be made out, as the deserted blockhouse still stands on the ruins. Another colonnaded building lies in the vicinity and near it a colossal hawk wrought in black granite. All around these are numerous mounds covered with the potsherds usual on such a site. They are all late so far as I could observe. On the desert side is the cemetery of the ancient town, from which the diggers of sebakh have taken scarabs and statuettes, probably ushebti-figures. The question arises whether this is the Empire town of Napata founded by the Eighteenth Dynasty in the sixteenth century B. C. The natives call the place Abu Dôm. The name "Meraui" properly attaches to the site immediately opposite Abu Dôm, but was transferred to the present capital of Dongola at Abu Dôm (now called Merowe) by Kitchener. The name "Meraui" has been shown by Lepsius to be Nubian. The original Meraui on the right bank, that is, on the same side of the river as Gebel Barkal and its temples, still contains a ruinous mamuriyeh, the walls of which are filled with sculptured fragments and inscribed blocks, taken from ancient Egyptian tombs and temples, and re-used in comparatively modern times. Some of these are older than the Nubian kings. Indeed, one of them bears an isolated mention of "Per-Amenemhet" or "House of Amenemhet." This can hardly be any other than one of the Twelfth Dynasty Amenemhets. It would be rash to conclude that one of these kings at so early a date penetrated so far into the Sudan, much less that he could have founded a town in this vicinity, but the interesting fragment is likely to belong to the ruin of some Empire tomb or temple in the vicinity. In the middle of the inclosure is a fine block of granite bearing the name Seneferre-Piankhi, and another fragment in the wall contains the name Taharka. The place from which these fragments came, being on the same side of the river as the Gebel Barkal ruins and only five miles away, may either itself have been the ancient town of Napata, or the fragments may conceivably have been carried from the Gebel Barkal site. In favor of this last supposition is the fact that the block of Seneferre-Piankhi calls him "beloved of Mut residing in Nubia (T'-Pd t)." It may therefore have come from the Mut temple rebuilt by Taharka at Gebel Barkal.

VI. FROM NAPATA TO ARGO

It was with great regret that we took our last stroll through Governor Jackson's superb garden at Merowe, and enjoyed his kindly hospitality for the last time, a pleasure which we shall not soon forget. On the twenty-second of December we passed the so-called pyramids of Kurru, and also those of Tangassi, which are little more than burial tumuli, with a few unhewn stones scattered over them to retain the desert gravel of which they are composed. Some seventeen miles from Merowe on the right bank is a similar group of mounds, which we reached on the next day. In a winding wadi west of the cemetery, I was led by a native to what he called "buyût" ("houses"), which proved to be a series of tomb chambers cut in the rock wall of the wadi. The walls were plastered with stucco, into which were cut Coptic inscriptions, all of which had almost entirely disappeared except one in the ceiling which I photographed. These are among the southernmost Coptic inscriptions known. Reaching Bakhît on the same day, we found there our first Christian church. It is one of a number still surviving in ruinous condition in the Dongola Province. They arose in the sixth century A. D. on the christianization of Nubia, and fell into ruin in the fourteenth century, when Christianity in this region was supplanted by Islam. The church of Bakhît is surrounded by heavy fortress walls of sun-dried brick reinforced with stone. The curtain wall is strengthened by eighteen projecting towers for enfilading the attacking lines. A few miles below Bakhît the Sudanese Arabic ceases to be the native tongue and the villagers speak Nubian, though the men all understand Arabic also.

On the twenty-fourth of December we reached Debba, where the Nile begins to turn northward, and after which we were obliged to sail against the incessant and powerful north wind. On the way we made brief observations and photographs at the Christian fortresses of Ed-Dafar and Genetti. We were held at Debba all Christmas day by a head wind, but managed to reach Old Dongola by the next evening. On the twenty-seventh I found a native north of Old Dongola on the east shore, at a village known as Megabda, who told of an inscribed stone far out in the desert. Here, some

four miles from the river, a broad wadi filled with trees and scattered vegetation passes like a river of green through the desolate expanse of the gravelly desert and must be fed by subterranean water. Its course is roughly parallel with the Nile and it is known as Letti. Approaching it from Megabda, we came upon a low oval mound of red burned brick some four hundred to five hundred feet long and half as wide. On its western margin lies a splendid granite block, a section of an obelisk, bearing on one corner the fragments of a four-lined Egypto-Nubian hieroglyphic inscription, now too fragmentary, unfortunately, to give us any information as to the place. But it was evidently a Nubian site of Meroitic age.

Having passed the night at Kheleiwa, where there is a fallen granite column of a church long since engulfed by the river, we stopped on the morning of the twenty-eighth at Shekh Arab Hagg, where we rode out again into the wadi of Letti, visited farther south the day before. Here, along all the eastern margin of this wadi, is one vast cemetery for miles and miles. Some of it is unquestionably ancient, but parts of it are still in use by the desert tribes along here. Here and there rises a "ḳubba" or domed tomb of a holy man. Near such a ḳubba behind Arab Hagg lies the section of a granite obelisk of the existence of which I was kindly informed by Mr. Crowfoot. It bears on each side a column of inscription by a Piankhi, whose Horus-name is once given as K'-t'wyf, or "Bull of His Two Lands;" and again as "Mighty Bull Shining in Thebes." His nbty-name is Ḥḳ'-Kmt, "Ruler of Egypt." Unfortunately his throne-name is not given. The section had been roughly rounded by hewing off the corners, till it much resembled a column from one of the churches of the region, and as such it had undoubtedly later served. It will be evident, therefore, that some ancient Nubian town and temple existed somewhere in this Wadi Letti. The omdeh from Shekh Arab Hagg, who was with us, stated that he knew of other remains farther north, and we followed him northward for two miles. On reaching the spot the stone he had promised to show us was found to be completely covered by drifting sand and after searching for some time we were unable to hit upon it. The section of obelisk has since been transported to Khartûm, where it now is in the museum.

VII. ARGO AND TOMBOS

From this point until the island of Argo was reached, only a church at Komi (west shore) and the ground plan of a late Nubian temple at Bugdumbush (east side) offered us any new material. We found New Dongola, which we reached late on New Year's Day, very interesting and its market furnished us the last opportunity before the awful wilderness of Batn el-Hagar, for buying petroleum. Here we were delayed by a violent northern storm, and it was not until the afternoon of January 4 that we reached the island of Argo (Arḡo). Stopping at the village or district of Tebe on the west side of the island we marched inland to a point nearer the eastern shore where there are extensive traces of an ancient town. The two well-known colossi of granite, each some twenty feet high, are standing statues of late Nubian kings without inscription (Fig. 25). They stood facing each other on each side of the temple entrance and have now each fallen over backward. The mound containing the ruins of the temple is elongated east and west, being some 250 feet long; and the statues lie at one end, that is, of course, the front end of the ancient building. On the northern side of the temple mound at about the north wall of the forecourt, west of the colossi is the sitting statue of King Sebekhotep (Ḥ'-nfr-R'-Sbk-ḥtp) of the Thirteenth Dynasty, facing south. The age of this statue has commonly been confused with that of the two late colossi near it, a confusion to which the present writer must also plead guilty. The presence of the Sebekhotep statue, commonly supposed to be very large, on this remote island has been generally regarded as evidence that Sebekhotep of the otherwise insignificant Thirteenth Dynasty, had extended the power of Egypt southward from the second cataract to this point. An inspection of the Sebekhotep statue, however, must lead to a different and important, even though negative, conclusion. The statue in the sitting posture measures about four and a half feet in height (Fig. 26). It weighs far less than the British Museum lions, which some late Nubian king transported from Soleb below the third cataract three hundred miles up the river to Gebel Barkal (Napata). Without further evidence of any conquests in Nubia by Sebekhotep, therefore, we are perfectly safe in concluding, that,

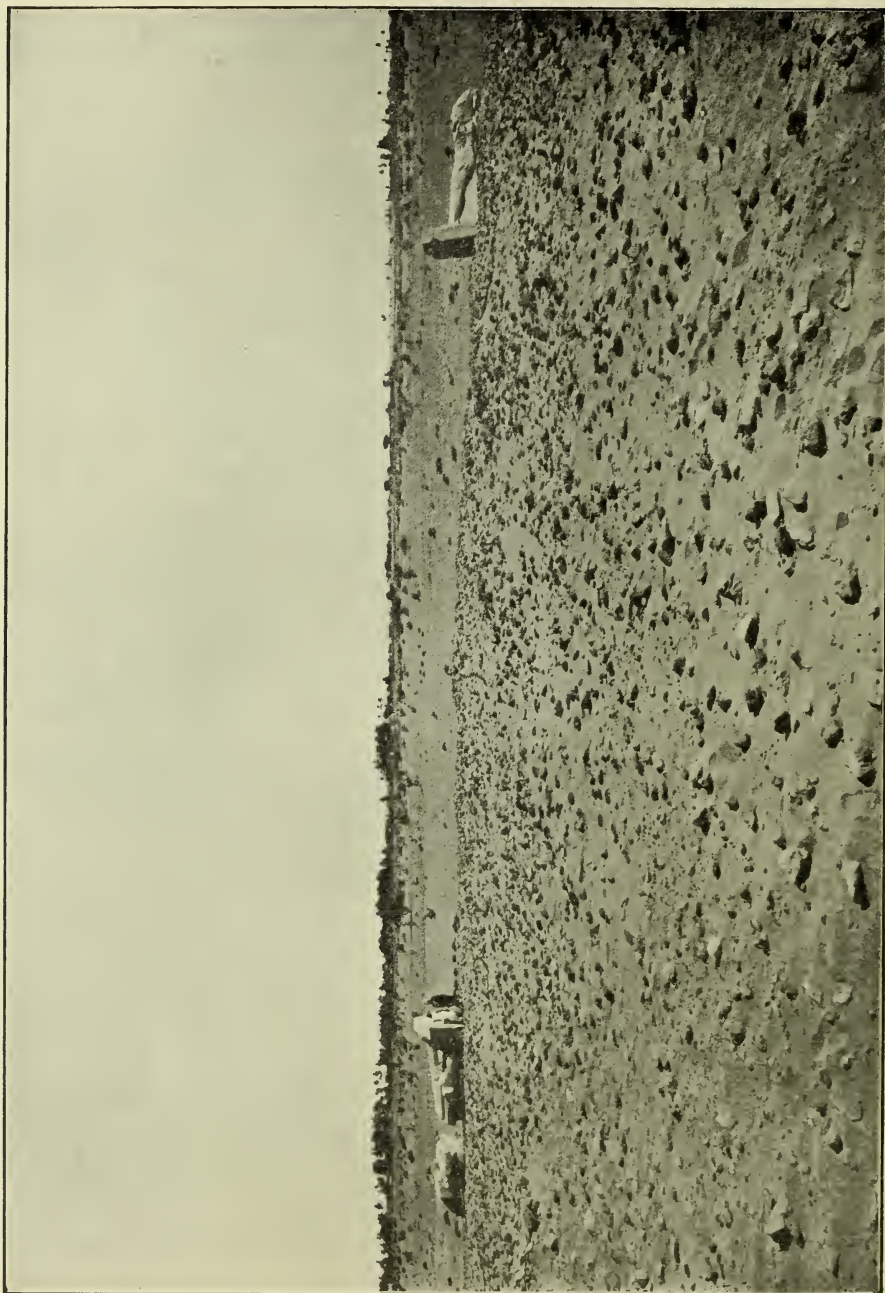


FIG. 25.—Colossi of Late Nubian Kings on the Island of Argo.



FIG. 26—Granite Statue of Seb-khotep Brought up the Nile by Some Late Nubian to the Island of Argo.

like the Soleb lions, this statue of Sebekhotep was carried southward from some temple of northern Nubia by a late Nubian king. We are thus relieved of the confusing and anomalous supposition that the weak Thirteenth Dynasty, after the fall of the Middle Kingdom, advanced the southern frontier of Egypt over two hundred miles southward. The gradual absorption of Nubia by the Pharaohs thus becomes an intelligible and traceable progress southward at times when such advances of the frontier are quite in harmony with the internal vigor of Egypt.

As we left the Dongola Province at this point, we were impressed with *the historical significance of its economic value*. It is a rather general impression among Egyptologists that the sole motive for the southern advance of the Pharaohs and their steady absorption of Nubia was the desire to control the southern trade routes coming out of the Sudan and to hold the Nubian gold mines in the eastern desert, but that the land itself offered nothing which would attract conquest. Having now traveled the entire length of the Dongola Province, viewed its broad fields and splendid palm groves, sheltering and feeding so many prosperous communities, the economic value of the region to the Pharaohs became at once apparent and much more strikingly so than from any report of some other traveler.¹² Here at the northern gateway of this province, also, it was significant to find the memorials of the king to whom (with the above Sebekhotep out of the way) it now becomes evident that the conquest of the entire region was due. The Middle Kingdom (2000–1788 B. C.) had definitely advanced the southern frontier of Egypt to a point some forty miles above Halfa, at Kummeh and Semneh. During the period of weakness and confusion culminating in the invasion and dominion of the Hyksos, after the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty, it was not to be expected that any further southward advance would be made. Now that the anomalous Sebekhotep at Argo is out of the way, we know that none was made. With the expulsion of the Hyksos, however, expansion northward and southward followed, and hence we find the records of Thutmose I (last quarter of the sixteenth century B. C.) extending from the first cataract ever southward at intervals

¹²Schaefer in his publication *Nastesen* has expressed a similar opinion, from impressions gained from Lepsius' notes.

through the dangerous waters and difficult marches in the desolate wilderness of the Batn el Ḥagar, until, having surmounted the rapids of the third cataract, he was the first Pharaoh to stand at the northern gateway of the Dongola Province. Before him flowed over two hundred miles of unbroken river, winding among the richest fields and the most opulent palm groves in the Sudan (Fig. 21). With the difficulties of the long advance now behind him, and the decisive battle over, he halted here for a well-earned rest, and opposite the Island of Tombos (Fig. 27) he erected five triumphant stelae commemorating the conquest, calling him "Overthrower of Kush," and proudly reciting the limits of his vast empire, from the upper Euphrates on the north, to this remote province on the upper Nile (Fig. 28). At the same time he took measures to protect and hold the new conquest, and built a fortress here. Thus when we have excluded the alleged advance of Sebekhotep through this region, Thutmose I and his monuments here gain an entirely new significance. He was the first of the Pharaohs to view this great garden on the upper Nile, and to him its absorption by Egypt was due.

There are no traces of the fortress mentioned in the largest stela-inscription on the eastern shore, where the stelae all are; but on the upper (southern) end of the island of Tombos opposite the stelae, is a Nubian stronghold of sun-dried brick, which may contain the nucleus of Thutmose I's fortress here. The rocks on the island and the neighboring mainland belong to a granite ridge, which cropping out here causes the Abu Fatma and Hannek rapids immediately below, these being the chief rapids of the third cataract. Both on the island and the eastern mainland the granite has been extensively quarried, and in the eastern quarry there lies a prostrate royal colossus left nearly finished. It is evidently from here that the granite shafts for the large colossi on Argo were taken. They show the same color. It should be noted also that the granite of the Sebekhotep statue there is of much darker color than that of the large colossi, or that of these Tombos quarries, the only granite near Argo. The granite rocks in the middle of the island rise fifty to seventy-five feet above the river and bear numerous rude graffiti of workmen, chiefly depicting animals and boats.

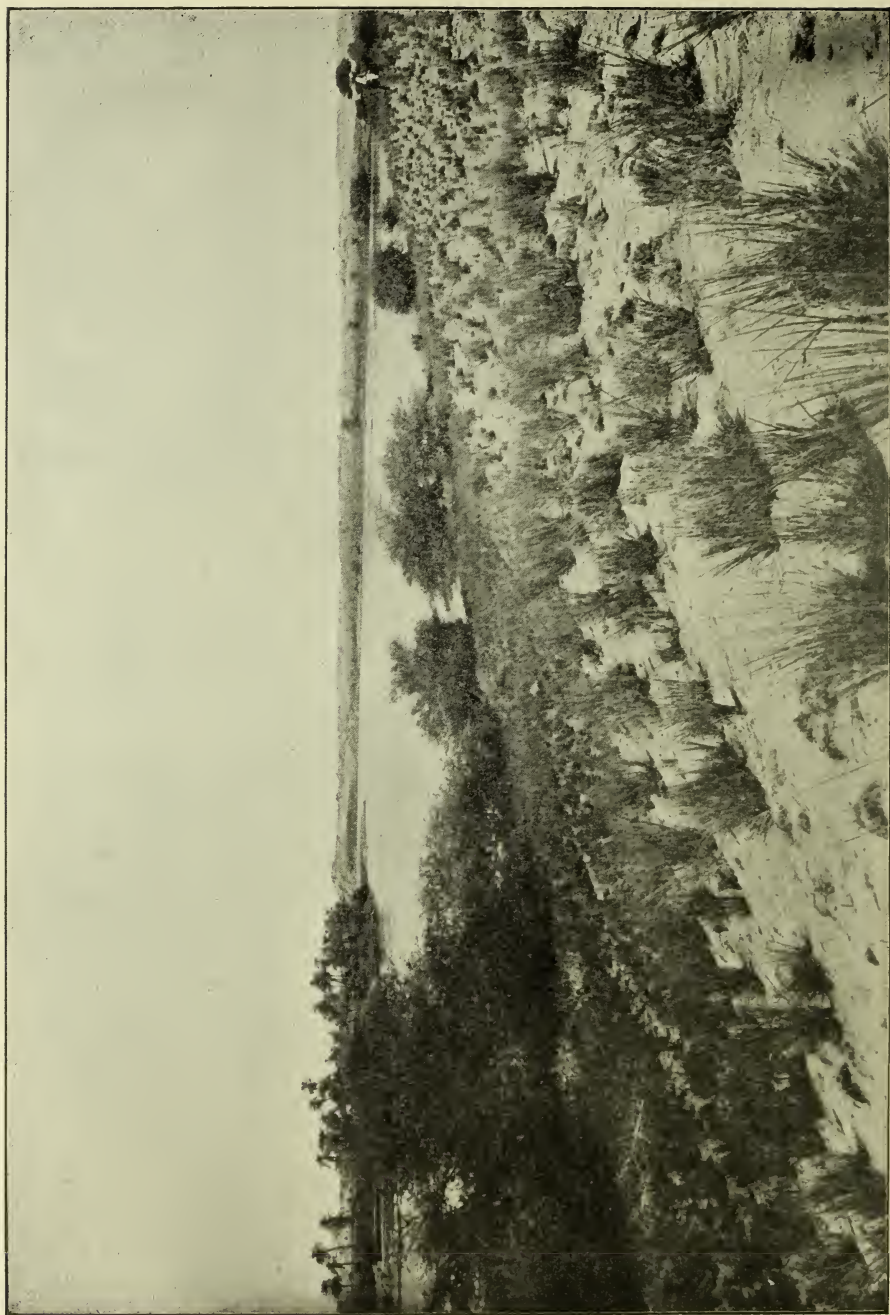


FIG. 27.—The Nile, Looking down Stream at Tombos. Island of Tombos at left. Stelae and inscriptions of Thutmose I on rocks at right.

Further south, between the fortress and the granite quarries of the island, we found on a low rock a new inscription. It is dated in the year twenty of a king whose name is certainly either Thutmose III or Thutmose IV. The space for the three plural strokes which would make the name that of Thutmose IV, has been broken out, but there is room for them, and the question arises whether



FIG. 28.—Photographing Tombos Stela of Thutmose I. The stela is inscribed on the large fallen rock at left.

the preceding sign, the beetle (*hpr*), has been slightly misplaced by accident, or intentionally so placed to make room for the following plural strokes. The available documents from the reign of Thutmose IV and his age at death (twenty-four) as shown by his mummy, are against his having reigned so long as twenty years. The inscription belongs to a new viceroy of the south, "king's-son, governor of the southern countries, Ani." His name occurs in two places, and both times has been carefully erased. The first time, the remains of the signs projecting above and below and preceding the erased surface would indicate with tolerable certainty

that the name is Ani. It contains eight lines, being a prayer to the gods of Nubia for "valor, vigilance, readiness, in the favor of the king" and the usual material blessings. Ani adds, however, a list of the products of the Sudan which he delivers to the king. They are: "perfumes (Ḥnm't), ivory, ebony, carob wood, (a word lost), skins of the panther, Khesyt-wood, incense of the Mazoi, being the luxuries (špsw) of wretched Kush." The Mazoi were the Nubian tribe occupying the country within the upper loop of the Nile-S, and now included between the river and railroad from Halfa to Abu Hamed. It is evident that the bulk of "Kush" was the Dongola Province. This is the southernmost inscription of an Egyptian viceroy, and the first yet found in the Dongola Province.

On the way to Tombos Davies went out to the strange massive mud brick mastabas at Defufa and made some general observations and photographs. These enigmatical monuments would repay a more extended investigation than it was possible for us to make in the limited time at our disposal. At the same time I went down the west shore to a point well toward Tombos and collected some data on the remains of a church in Akkad north of Hafir.

VIII. THIRD CATARACT

On the completion of the monuments of Thutmose I at Tombos, we began the passage of the third cataract, and accomplished safely the descent of the Abu Fatma and Hannek rapids on the eleventh of January. These are usually called the third cataract, although there is one more, though easy, rapid just below Hannek at Shaban and still another short, but much worse, rapid at Kagbâr, thirty miles farther north. A tempest from the north, which wrecked a native boat in the channel on our beam at the foot of Hannek, held us moored at the north end of Simit Island, above the Shaban cataract all day the twelfth of January. We sent out our felucca, the only small boat to be had, to the rescue of the two people clinging to the wreck, but so powerful was the wind that the felucca was three times blown past the wreck and carried off to leeward, before she made the wreck and took the owner and his son ashore. Shortly afterward, a fold of our badly housed mainsail having been

caught by the gale, it was quickly whipped from its lashings and the lower half of it snapped into ribbons before the slovenly Nubian sailors could secure it again. The next day the wind had abated but the repair of our mainsail delayed us half a day, and the night of January 13 found us no farther on than the head of the Shaban rapid. This we ran on the fourteenth and in the



FIG. 29.—Our Larger Gyassa Descending the Kagbâr Cataract.

evening of the fifteenth we moored but a few miles above the Kagbâr rapid. By noon of the sixteenth we had secured a gang of men from the neighboring village and had begun the passage of the difficult Kagbâr channel. It lies at the west end of the rugged granite ridge which stretches across the river here like an artificial dam. The drop in perhaps three or four hundred feet is considerable and the channel makes two sharp turns, forming a complete inverted Z. However, when darkness overtook us, the smaller of our two gyassas was safely through, though only after a narrow escape at one point, and the larger boat was lying in the lower angle of the Z (Fig. 29). This was an uncomfortable situ-

ation, at a point where the boat was exposed to the full fury of the swift water descending the long reach of the Z. Sleep was impossible, and to add to our discomfort a heavy wind off shore sprang up. Above the roar of the cataract surging beside us I heard, about midnight, the sharp snapping of canvas fluttering in the wind, and on going out could discern through the darkness the mizzen-sail loose from its lashings, and drawing heavily. The reis had moored the boat only at the bow, and the stern was now driven by the mizzen-sail out into the rapid. The single forward line chafing on the rocks fortunately held long enough for the frightened crew to carry a line ashore from the stern, but they could not draw the stern in again. What we escaped in the night, however, or a similar mishap, overtook us the next morning. We succeeded in avoiding the rocks in the last reach of the Z, and were driving across the river at the foot of the cataract in the heavy wind still blowing, when we ran upon a hidden rock under full way, which drove a large hole through the starboard bow. The boat filled rapidly, and the water had reached the after-deck, which is always low in such craft, in a few minutes, but fortunately just as she sank the heavy wind had beached her. The story of the removal of our stores as the water rushed into the hold, our efforts to prevent the craft turning over into deep water and driving with the current a total wreck, and the various attempts to repair the hull cannot be added here to burden this brief recital of our winter's work. We succeeded in stopping the hole sufficiently to bale out the water, and right her, and in the final work of patching the hole inside and out, we enjoyed the assistance of the Shellâli natives of Mr. Scott's government surveying party, which by extraordinary good fortune happened to be passing along the eastern desert at the moment. I am glad of this opportunity to express to him our sense of obligation for this effective aid.

Our wreck took place on January 16, and the repairs were completed by the evening of the seventeenth. Although our stores were all reloaded by noon of the eighteenth, the heavy north wind made it impossible to start, and the wind continuing, the evening of the nineteenth found us only three miles north of

the fatal Kagbâr rapid. It was not until noon of the twenty-first that we had made the few miles necessary to reach Dulgo and the temple of Sesebi.

IX. DISCOVERY OF GEM-ATON, IKHNATON'S RELIGIOUS CAPITAL IN UPPER NUBIA

The temple of Sesebi heretofore attributed to Seti I, has long been known, although it lies in the heart of the most inaccessible region of Nubia. It is situated at the foot of the third cataract a few miles below the Kagbâr rapid on the west side of the river, opposite Dulgo, the residence of the mamûr of the district. It is thus separated from the south by the third cataract, and from the north by the long and terrible rapids of the second cataract. It has therefore not often been visited by Europeans. Burckhardt, almost the first European of modern times to penetrate into these regions between the second and third cataract, passed the place in 1813;¹³ but as he went up the eastern bank he never saw the temple of Sesebi, or at least makes no reference to it.

In January, 1821, the able Frenchman Cailliaud, in company with Letorzêc, reached it on his southward journey, and spent a day there.¹⁴ As he continued southward, he passed several days later, the two Englishmen, Waddington and Hanbury, coming northward on their return journey. The latter two, therefore, arrived at Sesebi eleven days after Cailliaud's visit;¹⁵ so that the Frenchman was the modern discoverer of the temple. Waddington was evidently under the belief that he had discovered the existence of this temple. His brusque treatment of Cailliaud would indicate also some jealousy of the latter's possible achievements in this

¹³ Poncet (1698), who gives no account of the monuments in the country, probably never saw Sesebi, and du Roule, who perished in Senaar, of course published no account of his journey (1704). Norden (1738) did not even reach the second cataract, and Bruce, returning from Abyssinia in 1772, did not follow the river here. In 1793 Browne's visit to Dâr-Fâr did not carry him into this region; and Legh (1813) stopped at Ibrim, half way from Aswan to the second cataract.

¹⁴ *Voyage à Merôé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzoql . . . à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis; fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822*, par M. Frédéric Cailliaud, de Nantes, Paris, 1826 (2 vols. of plates, 4 vols. of text), Text, Tome 1, p. 387.

¹⁵ *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*. By George Waddington, Esq., and the Rev. Barnard Hanbury, London, 1822, pp. 279, 280. Cailliaud states that he reached Sesebi on January 8, and met the Englishmen on the eleventh. Waddington affirms that he met Cailliaud on the fourteenth and arrived at Sesebi on the nineteenth.

region.¹⁶ The Englishman Hoskins, on account of a rebellion among the tribe of the "Mahass," avoided the river at this point. He cut off the bend in the stream, on which our temple is situated, and passed through the desert from Fakir el-Bent to Soleb on June 3 and 4, 1833. He therefore never saw Sesebi. Eleven years later, on July 4, 1844, the great Prussian, Lepsius visited Sesebi on his way north;¹⁷ but two generations elapsed before it was again the object of research. In 1905 Budge¹⁸ visited the place, and the present writer on behalf of the Oriental Exploration Fund of The University of Chicago spent part of two days there in January, 1907.

The first account of the temple ever published was that of Waddington (*op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff., 320), who accompanies his description by a small plan. For his day, his observations are well made, and accord perfectly with the facts. He also made an attempt to identify the place with the ancient "Aboccis" of Pliny. Cailliaud, who was a good draughtsman, made fuller observations and published a plan of the town, a plan of the temple, a perspective view, and an elevation of one of the columns (*op. cit.*, Planches, Vol. II, Pl. VII-VIII). It is evident from his sketch (Pl. VIII) that the site of the temple was encumbered with much more rubbish in his day than at present. Neither Waddington nor Cailliaud enjoyed a knowledge of hieroglyphics, as the researches of Champollion were published the next year. Nevertheless, Waddington says, that the columns "have been covered with hieroglyphics and figures which are much defaced and worn away by time. I copied three or four which I do not remember to have observed in the temples of Egypt" (*op. cit.*, p. 280). Lepsius was the first visitor with a knowledge of hieroglyphics. He says: "Hier stand ein alter Tempel, von welchem jedoch nur

¹⁶ Of his meeting with Cailliaud and Letorzec in this remote wilderness, Waddington says, "We merely exchanged a few words of civility in passing, and proceeded on our respective destinations with as much indifference as if we had met in the park or on the boulevards" (*op. cit.*, p. 257). Cailliaud states that Waddington refused him information (*op. cit.*, Text, Tome II, pp. 395 f.), and in spite of Cailliaud's later cordial note (*op. cit.*, Text, Tome II, p. 405), the Englishman's above words are not reassuring.

¹⁷ *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai*, von Richard Lepsius Berlin, 1852, p. 256.

¹⁸ *The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols., London, 1907, Vol. I, pp. vii, viii, 440 ff.

noch vier Säulen mit Palmenkapitälén aufrecht stehen; diese tragen die Schilder *Sethos I*, die südlichsten, die uns von diesem Könige begegnet sind" (*Briefe*, p. 256). In his *Denkmäler* (I, 118-19), he furnishes the only good plans, of city and temple, with a fine aquarelle of the ruins (Fig. 35) and an elevation of one of the columns. Since my return to Europe I have had the opportunity of examining the unpublished manuscript of Lepsius' venerable "Tagebuch" of his Nubian voyage, and I find there one of the acute observations we have learned to expect from him. His only remarks on the sculptures, after a description of the columns bearing them, are the following: "Die Mitteltableaus der Säulen sind auch sehr zerstört und alle überschritten; als dies geschah wurden die Säulen auch mit Kalk überzogen."

Budge visited and examined this temple with the purpose of excavating it. His conclusions as to its origin and value he states thus: "This temple was built by Seti I, king of Egypt about 1370 B.C. . . . An examination of the ruins of Seti's temple convinced both the inspector and myself that it would be a waste of money to dig there."

Looking southwestward from the hill of Sese at the present day, the temple of Sesebi and its ancient city are lost in the wide plain which stretches far away westward from the Nile (left, Fig. 30), to the distant hills of the Sahara. During the writer's entire stay at Sesebi (from noon of one day until noon of the next), the air was so obscured by flying dust and sand that at no time was the horizon clearly visible. This is evident from the photograph (Fig. 30). The violence of the wind was such that work upon the temple was almost impossible. Our camera ladder was hurled to the ground and broken, and a circle of poles and braces around the camera failed to prevent the agitation of the instrument by the fierce blasts of the tempest. Evidently Lepsius met with a similar experience, for he remarks in his "Tagebuch" (MS, p. 21), "Abdrücke der Inschriften konnten des Windes wegen, nicht gemacht werden." All our photographs here were taken under almost prohibitive difficulties, and indeed it was well nigh impossible even to use a notebook when exposed to the full fury of the wind. One would dodge out from the lee side of a

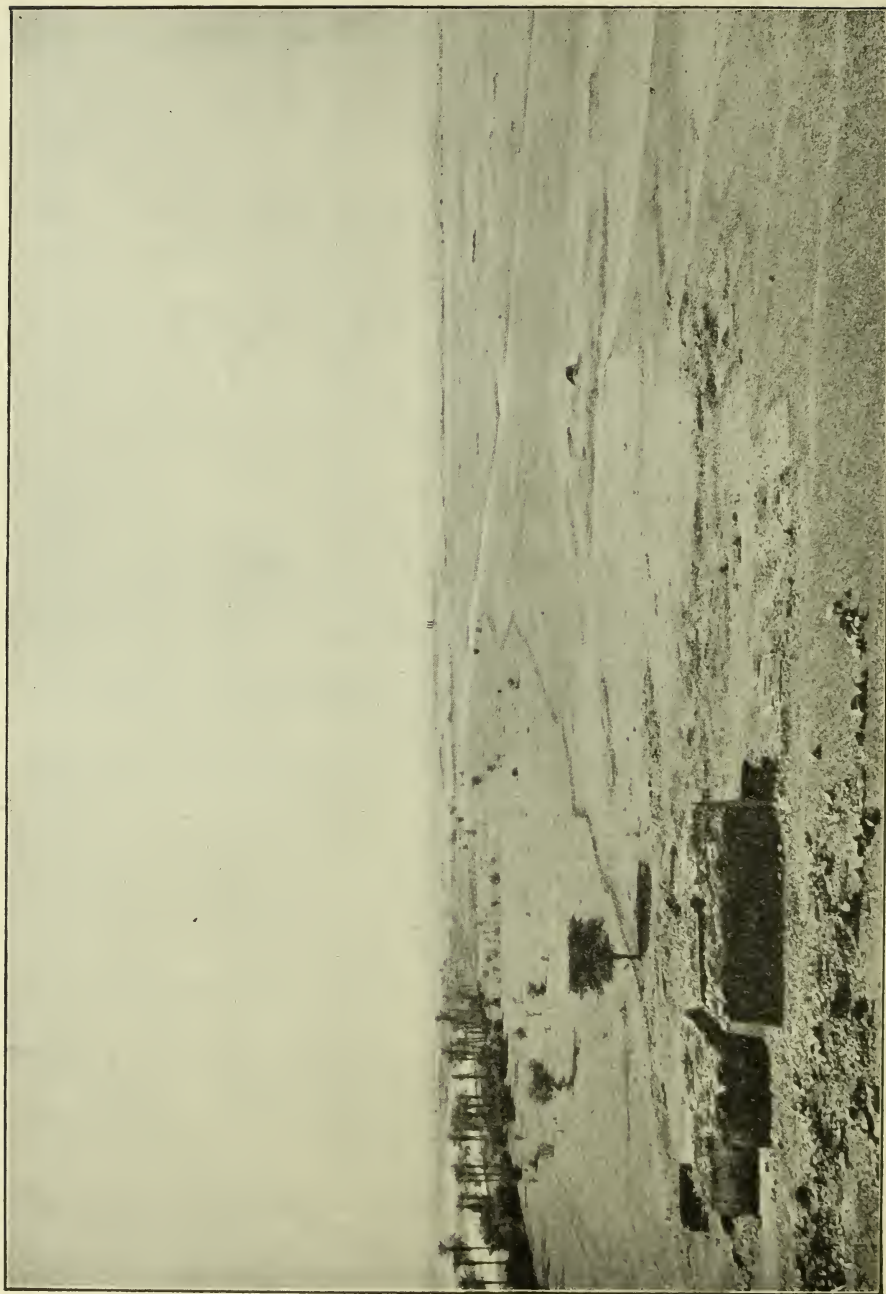


FIG. 30.—Plain of Sesebi Looking Southwest from South Slope of Sese Hill, the Temple Columns and Walls of Gem-Aton Discernible in Center. (Taken in heavy sand-storm.)

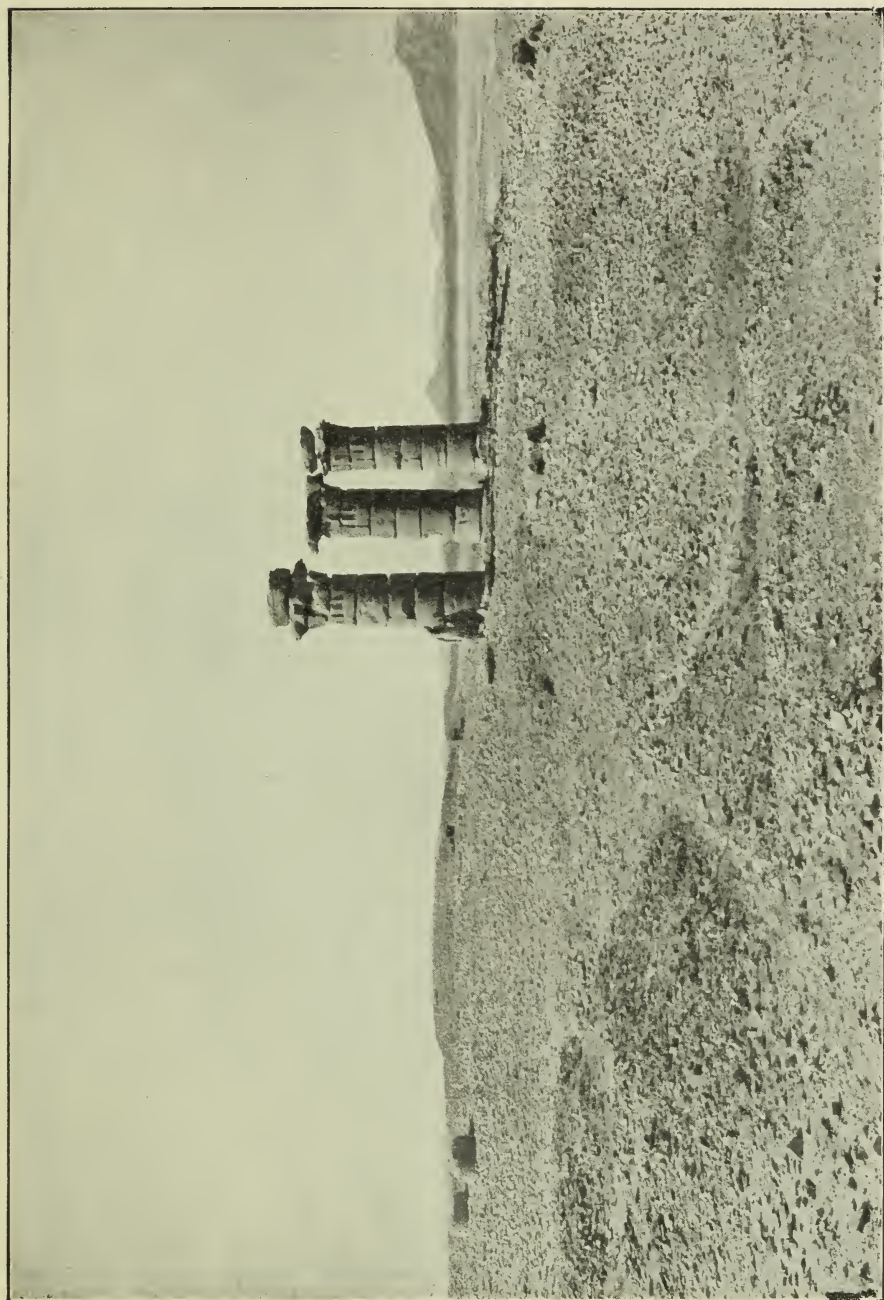


FIG. 31.—General View of Temple of Sesebi from Southeast, Looking Northwest. (Rear of Sese Hill on extreme right.)

column during a momentary lull, make a hurried observation, and hastily beat a retreat to escape a deluge of sand beating like hot cinders in one's face, and record the observation in the wel-

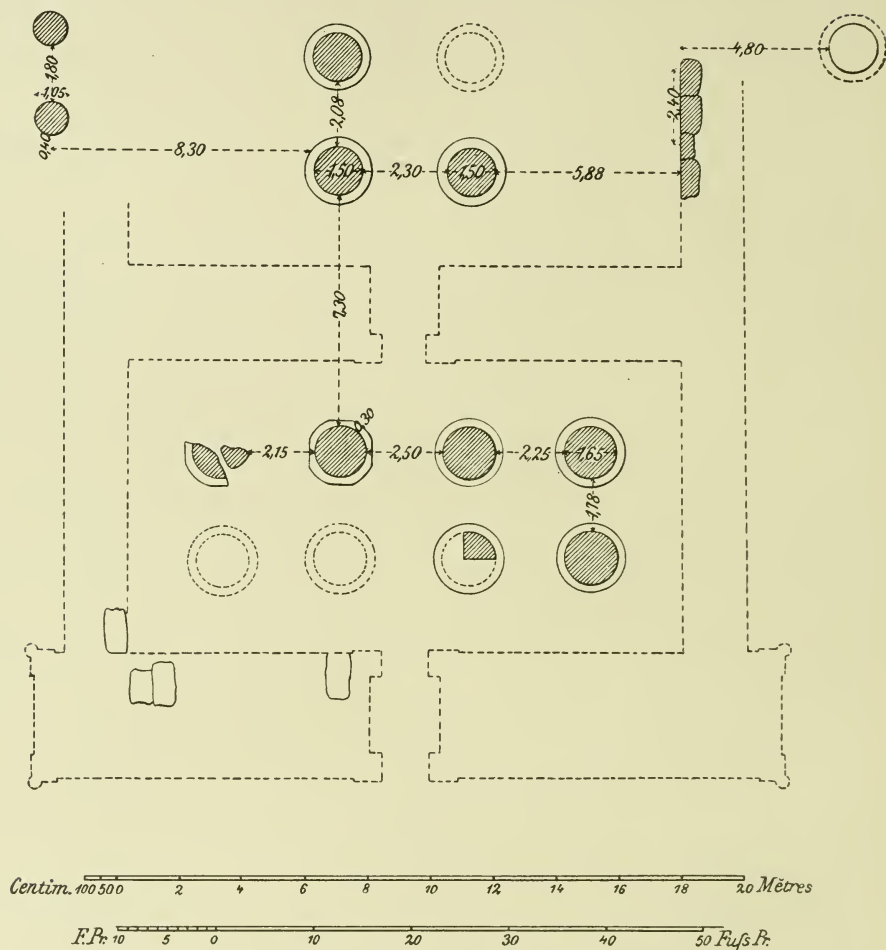


FIG. 32.—Plan of the Temple of Sesebi (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, I, 119).

come shelter of the column. Nor are such winds as these uncommon in Nubia; they blow for days or even weeks at a time with unabated violence, and the quiet intervals usually continue but a few days. In the use of the accompanying photographs, therefore,

the reader is requested to bear these facts in mind. They are not what they would have been under different circumstances.

The temple of Sesebi stands not far from the line of cultivation, about five minutes' walk from the Nile (Fig. 34). It was built of sandstone and its ground plan was about forty meters in length by twenty meters in width. The axis is in a tolerably accurate east-and-west line. The rear portion of the building has disappeared entirely and even in Cailliaud's day only a short section of the lower courses of the north wall was observable. At the present day the exterior walls are nowhere visible, though excavation would doubtless disclose their position. The rapidly falling river forbade our undertaking any clearance of the walls here, much to our regret. The ground plan of the interior at the rear is entirely problematical, but the arrangement of the interior of the front half is clear and was already perceived by Erbkam, Lepsius' architect (see plan, Fig. 32). This portion of the building consisted of two columned halls, one behind the other, each having eight columns in two transverse rows. Those of the rear hall have now disappeared (Fig. 33), though Cailliaud found four bases, of which we could still observe three. In the first hall, three columns of the eight still stand (Figs. 33-35). They are of the second row, which thus lacks only its southernmost column. In Lepsius' day a fourth column in this hall, was still standing (Fig. 35). It was the northernmost in the first row.¹⁹ The arrangement of this temple is therefore unusual and it should be compared with the other temple of the age to which it belongs, just found by Borchardt at Tell el-Amarna. One would expect a court before the first hypostyle, but we could find no traces of it.

Of the relation of the building to the town inclosure we shall speak later. The architecture of the temple is not of the best. The palm columns are all of the same height and there is no clerestory. Their proportions are heavy, being much too thick for their height; the height of the capital approaches a third of the entire height of the column, and they cannot be compared

¹⁹ Small fragments of its capital still lie on the spot. Budge still saw entire drums, and speaks of "inscribed portions of a doorway" (*op. cit.*, p. 441).

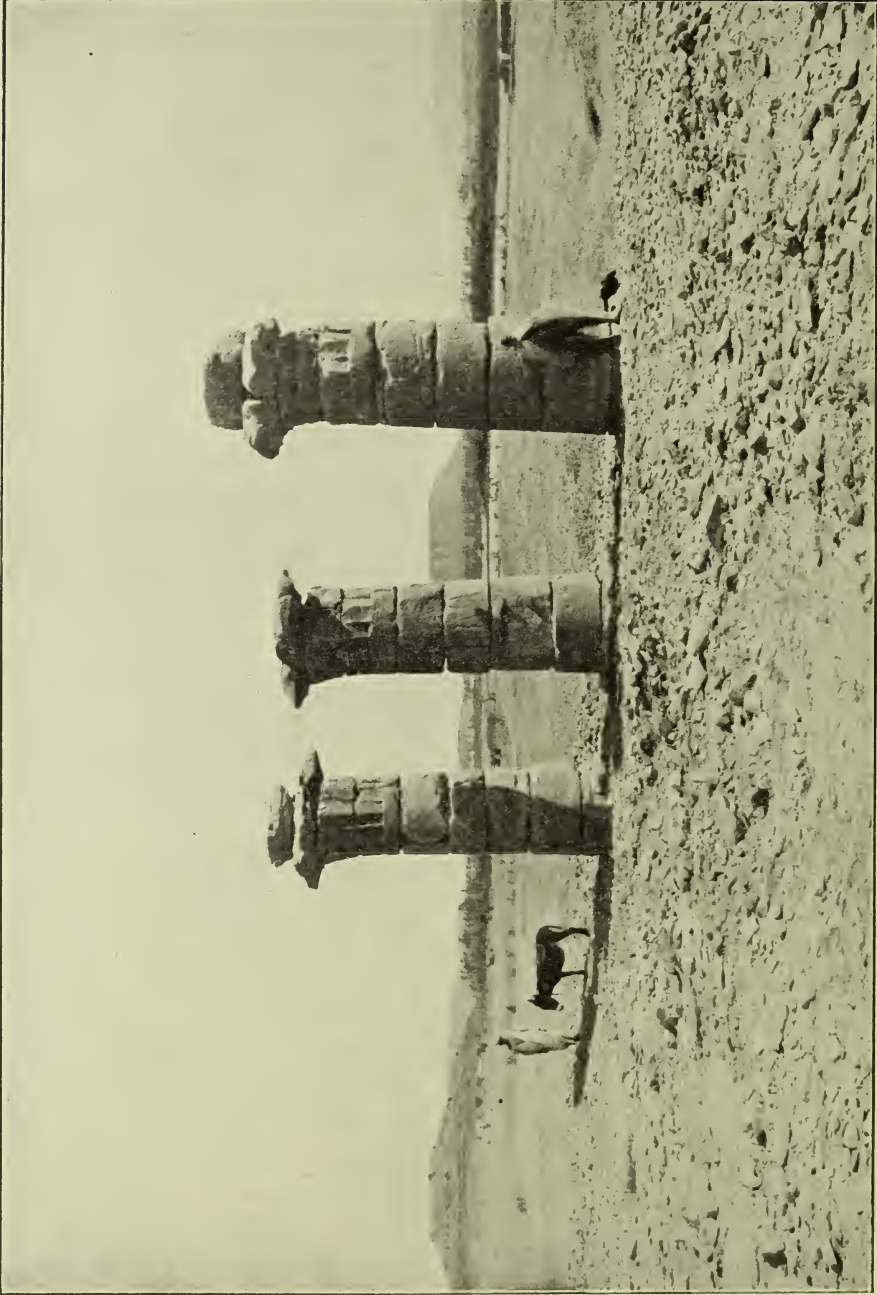


FIG. 33.—Sesebi Temple, Looking Northeast, across Second Hall to Columns of First Hall. Sese Hill on left. Buildings of Dulgo on east shore between northern (left) and middle column. (Native's garment blowing in heavy wind.)

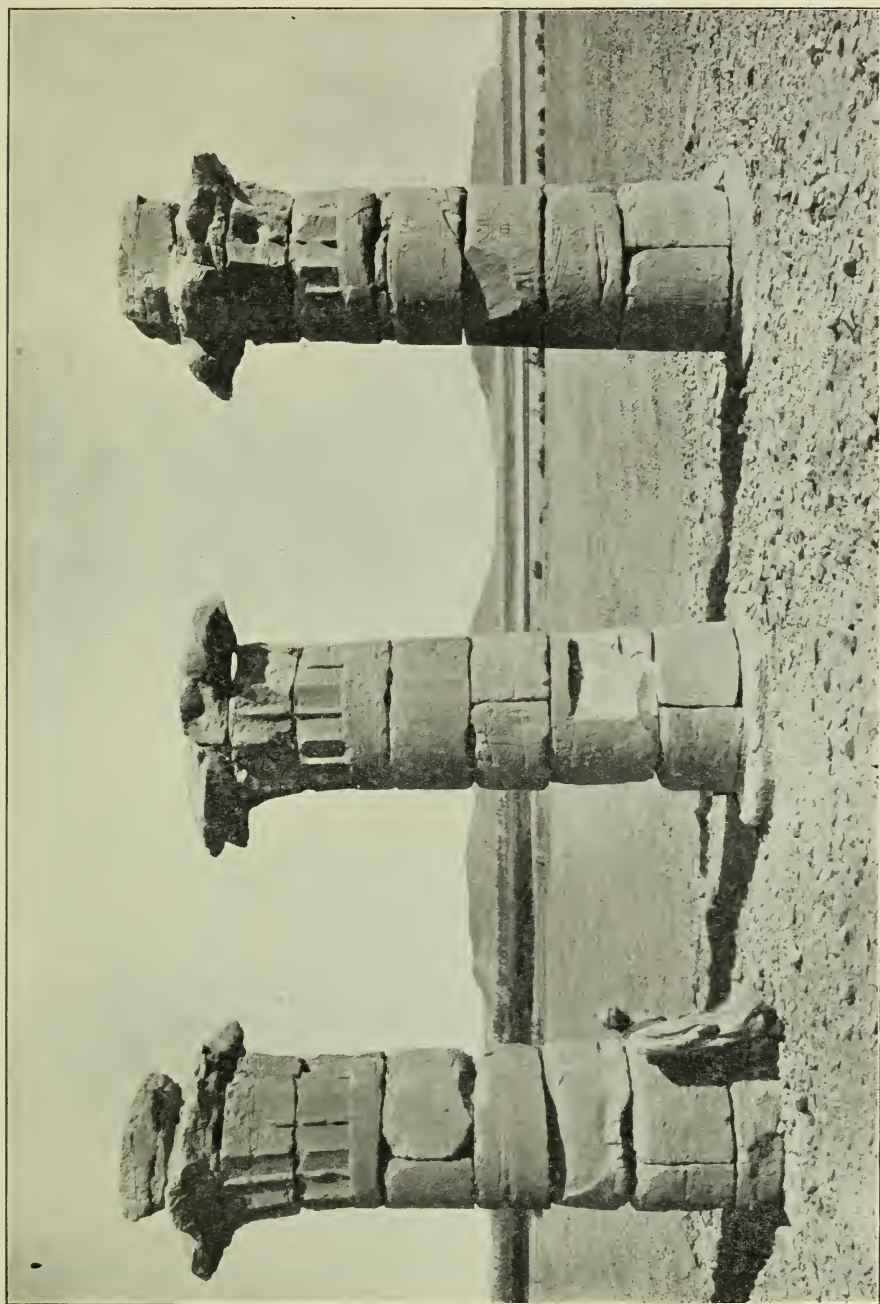


FIG. 34.—Sesebi Temple. Columns of First Hall from West. (Fragments of fourth column recently destroyed are behind northern (left) column; see Fig. 35.) Nile and eastern hills in background.

with the sole palm column still surviving at Soleb. Space will not permit a detailed discussion of the architecture of these columns here.

What excavation may yet disclose cannot be foreseen, but at present the unique and remarkable history of the place can be drawn only from the sculptures and inscriptions on the three surviving columns. These we shall refer to as the northern, southern, and middle columns. The reliefs on the northern and middle columns are on the south side; those of the southern column on the north side. The reliefs on the southern and middle columns thus face each other, and the aisle between them is the middle aisle, as the ground plan shows (Fig. 32). They consist of offering scenes in which the king is always at the east, facing west, and the god before him at the west facing east. This shows that the back of the temple was at the west and the front at the east, for such is the direction with reference to front and back, in which the royal and divine figures in such temple reliefs regularly face. It is as if the god were issuing from the holy place in the rear of the temple, to meet the king entering from the front. The king, as Lepsius long ago noted for the first time, is Seti I. He stands with uplifted hands, before a small flower-crowned standard, surmounted by an oblation-vessel, as may best be seen on the middle column (Figs. 38 and 45). An examination of this middle column (Figs. 38, 39, 45, 46) will show the reader clearly the arrangement of all these reliefs, which it is important to follow closely, thus:



On the contiguous sides of the southern and middle columns, that is, on either side of the central aisle, the divinity to whom Seti offers is naturally the great state-god, Amon.

Having this arrangement clearly in mind, we may now take up each column in succession, beginning with the southern column. Here Amon is accompanied by his name (Fig. *a*), while the name of the king (Fig. 42) is just above the latter's extended arms.

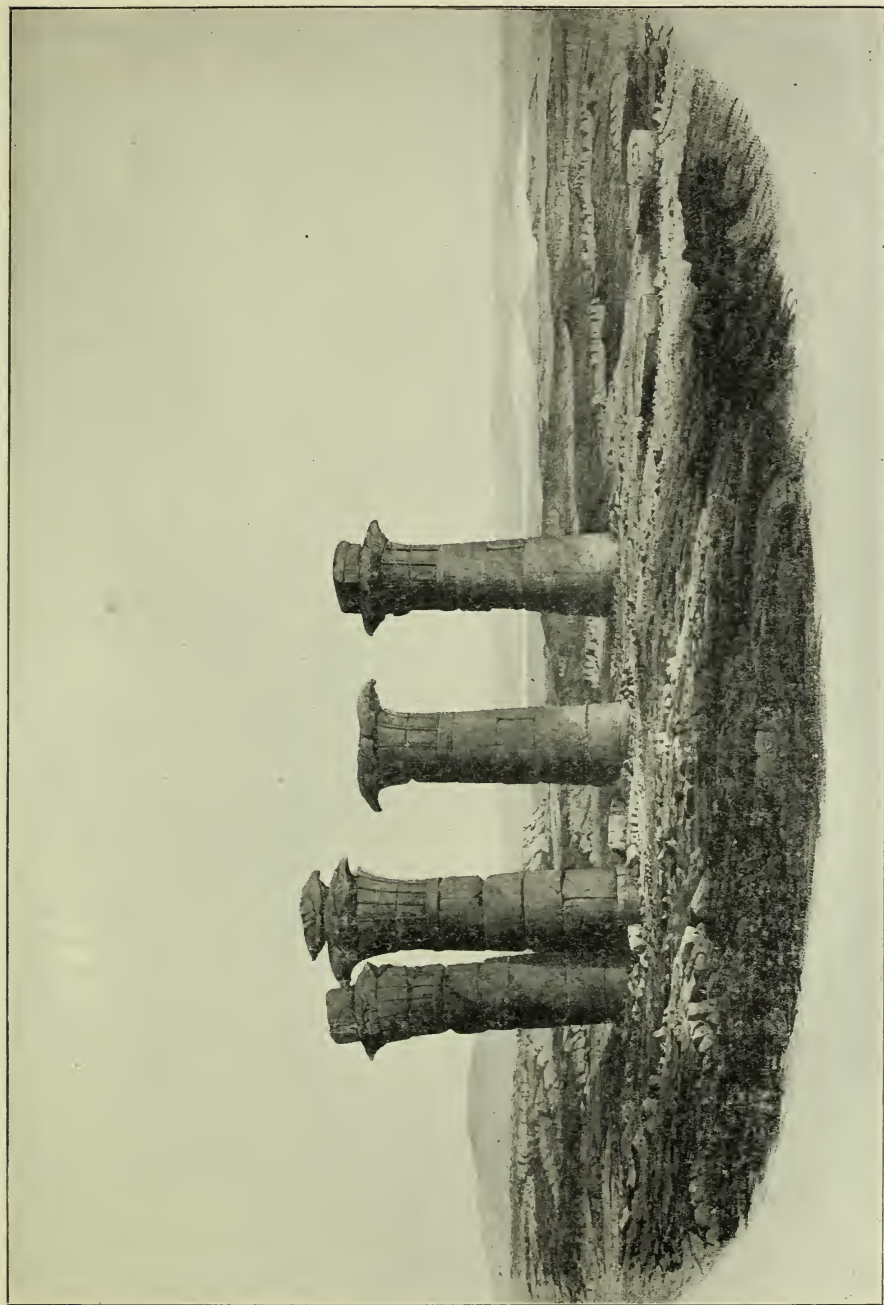


FIG. 35.—Sesebi Temple. Columns of First Hall as seen in 1844 by Lepsius (from *Denkmäler*, I, 118). Column at left, leaning to its fall, has since disappeared (see Fig. 34).

Above the king is a sun-disk adorned with the suspended serpent, over which is the band of heaven, extending clear across the relief (Figs. 36, 37, and 42). Both the figures, of god and of

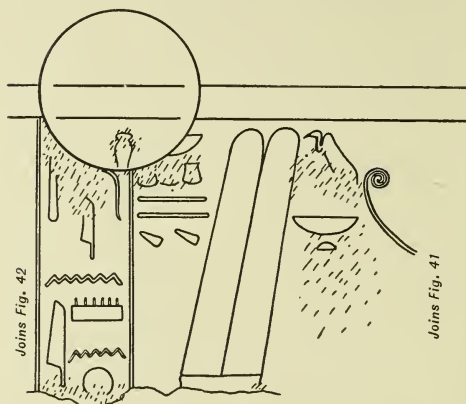


FIG. a.—Southern Column, right half, names of Amon and Mut.

king, have suffered much. The king's extended arms, the head of the god, and his upper figure are still preserved. Behind the king was a pair of cartouches of large size, of course also containing his name. These were surmounted each by a pair of large feathers, of which only the tops now survive (Figs. 37 and 42). This style of cartouch is common on temple columns and on scarabs from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward. The formulae of offering and the promises of the god, usual in such reliefs, are lost in the middle of the lower half of the scene, on each side of the offering standard. (See Fig. 37.) Behind Amon was the figure of Mut, but it has completely disappeared except the spiral wire belonging to her crown (Fig. a) and faintly visible behind Amon's tall feathers. Her name is also visible by the top of the feathers (Fig. a).

The relief on the middle column (Figs. 38, 39) is better preserved. It is precisely like that on the southern column. Of the king's figure on the right only one elbow of the uplifted arm, and the pointed front of the royal kilt, are preserved (Fig. 45). Over his head is the sun-disk hung with the sacred serpent, and the sign of life. His name above his extended arm, is here better preserved (Fig. 45). The name of the god (Fig. b) has entirely fallen off except at the end. Under the king's arm is the designation of the cultus act, which he is performing. It is interrupted by the point of the royal kilt, which runs out into it (Fig. c).



FIG. b



FIG. c



FIG. 36.—Sesebi Temple. Right Side of Palimpsest Relief on Southern Column. Expunged figure of Ikhnaton in middle. (Compare Fig. 41.)

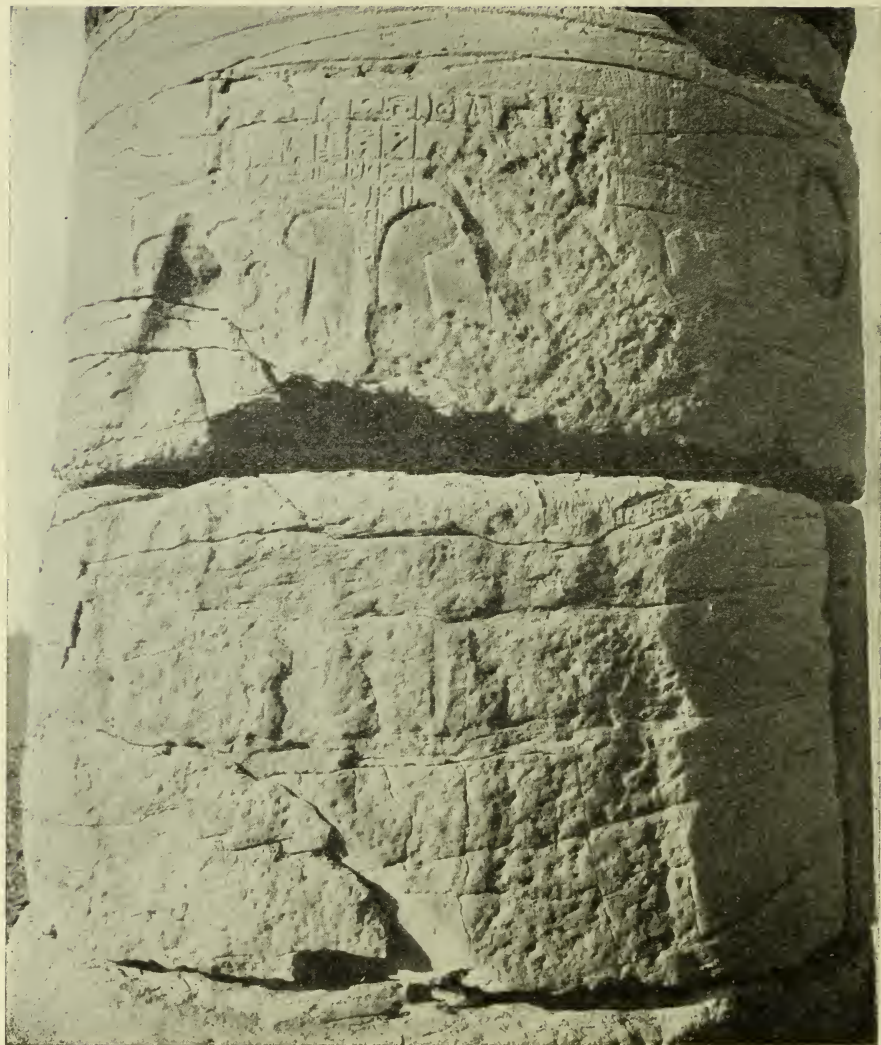


FIG. 37.—Sesebi Temple. Left End of Relief on Southern Column. At top titles of Ikhnaton's queen. (See Fig. 42.)

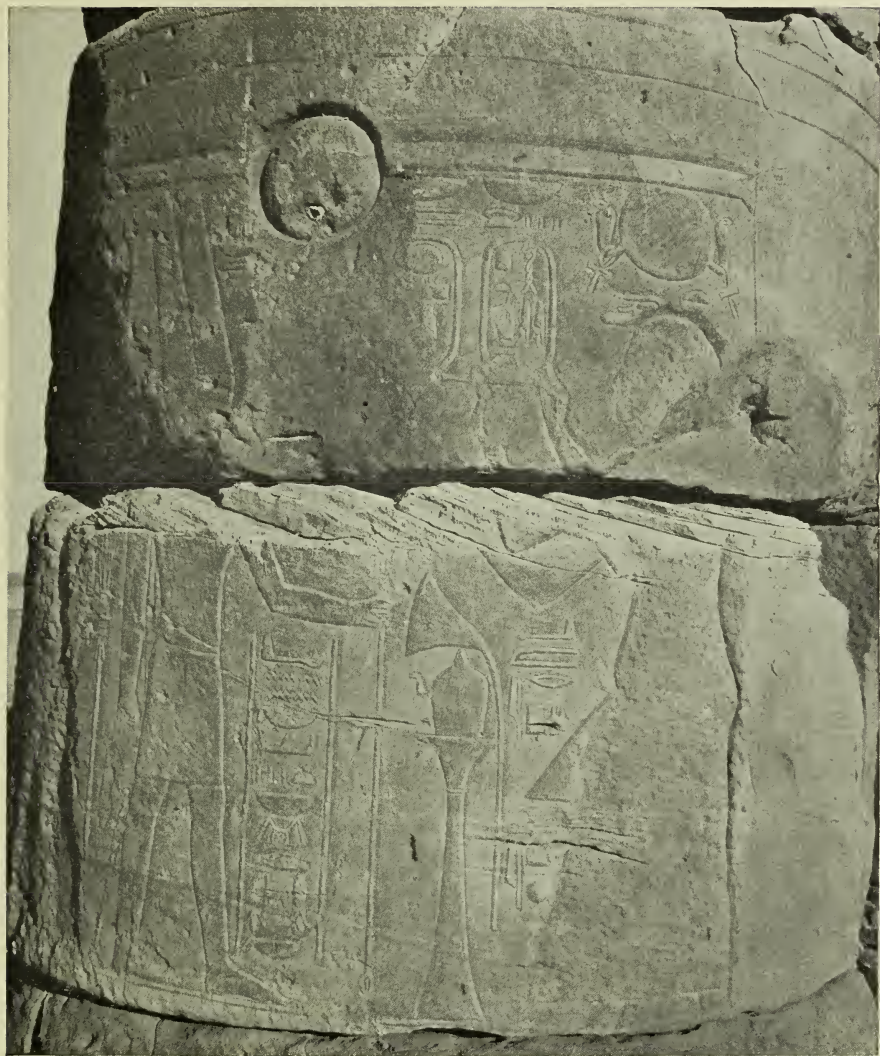
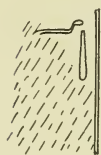
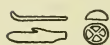


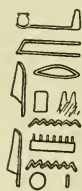
FIG. 38.—Sesebi Temple. Right Half of Relief on Middle Column. (Compare Fig. 45.)

The heaven-band above the king's head, stops just there (Fig. 45), showing that there was no pair of large cartouches behind him, corresponding to those on the southern column (Fig. 37). A single column of text under the god's arm contains one of the conventional promises. Behind Amon, who faces the right with extended scepter, was the figure of Ptah or Osiris (Fig. 45), but only his two hands grasping the scepter have survived. The beginning of his speech (Fig. *d*) is all that has been preserved. The heaven-band stopped just behind him, including no more than his figure.

FIG. *d*FIG. *e*

The northern column (Fig. 40) has preserved little of the relief scene. Seti I on the right was offering wine to Khnum on the left. Over the king are his two cartouches and the serpent-hung sun-disk, as on both the other columns. The sun-disk bears the familiar designation (Fig. *e*). The king was accompanied by his *ka*-figure, a smaller male figure, standing beside him surmounted by the titles (Fig. *f*).

Under the god's arm is the designation of the cultus-act (Fig. *g*). This statement that the wine is offered to Amon-Re is doubtless a hasty error on the part of the scribe, for the inscription (Fig. *h*) over the god shows that he was Khnum.

FIG. *f*.—*Ka*-titles of Seti I on Northern Column.FIG. *g*FIG. *h*.—Titles of God Khnum on Northern Column.

In this rapid survey of Seti I's reliefs the reader will probably have been disturbed by intrusive figures. There is a noticeably intrusive symbol on all three columns. It generally breaks into the royal ovals of Seti I, and is so large that it may be seen at a distance (Fig. 31, on two further columns). I refer to the deeply cut disk at the top in the center of Seti's reliefs. Beginning to make a record of Seti's reliefs I first attacked the southern



FIG. 39.—Sesebi Temple. Left End of Relief on Middle Column. (Compare Figs. 38 and 43.)



FIG. 40.—Sesebi Temple. Right Half of Relief on Northern Column.

column. I was immediately greatly puzzled by this disk. It seemed to have been cut after Seti's inscriptions, as it so sharply interrupts them. But, when I considered its position on the other columns, and perceived that it was in all three cases in the middle



FIG. 41.—Expunged Figure of Ikhnaton behind Amon on Southern Column (Right end; compare Fig. 36).

of the side facing the middle aisle, I conjectured that it was one of the deeply cut sun-disks appearing at the top in the middle of Ikhnaton's adoration scenes, and that such scenes had once stood where we now find those of Seti I. I added the mental reservation that I would never be able to prove the conjecture, and would

never think of publishing it. This was during the first five minutes of work. I went on with an examination of the southern column. Having passed from the figure of Amon at the right, to that of the other supposed divinity standing behind him, I was endeavoring to discern the head, when I was suddenly confronted by the familiar outlines of Ikhnaton's figure, dimly discernible through the barbarous chisel marks of intentional expunction. All the peculiar and unmistakable lines were there. I glanced at the other columns, now knowing where to look and what to look for. He was there on all the others also. These were palimpsest columns, and this was a temple of the great revolutionary, the first and only one known in Nubia. Indeed, they were then the only surviving monuments of his thus far discovered in Nubia. Furthermore, no other columns of the great heretic anywhere, whether in Egypt or Nubia, have escaped destruction. It is therefore imperative to demonstrate beyond all doubt that he was their builder and the author of the reliefs, over which those of Seti I have been superimposed.

The southern column, as Figs. 36 and 37 show, has at the top of the relief, two heaven-bands: one directly above the deeply cut sun-disk²⁰ in the middle, extends on the right far beyond the limits of Seti's relief; the second (lower down) cuts directly across the sun-disk and extends on the left far beyond the other band, clearly visible above it (Figs. 36 and 42). This lower band also cuts across a crown of Lower Egypt at the right, which terminates under the upper band. It will probably be clear in the photograph (Fig. 36), that the figure wearing this crown is that of Ikhnaton, with his protruding chin, his oblique neck, and his crown tilted too far back—all barbarously chiseled away (Fig. 41). It is at any rate evident that this figure is not original to Seti's relief, in which the goddess Mut once occupied the place behind Amon. The curled spiral wire (Fig. *a*) of her crown (like that of Ikhnaton) extends obliquely upward from Ikhnaton's nose. This is clear on the original and also in the photographic negative. Ikhnaton's hands are uplifted before him, each bearing a tall ointment jar (Fig. 41) which he is offering to his god. His god

²⁰From here on, "sun-disk" refers exclusively to the deeply cut disk of Ikhnaton; not to the disk over Seti's head.

is of course the deeply cut sun-disk before him. The heaven-band above Ikhnaton extends quite beyond him, on the right (Fig. 36), making room behind him for another figure under it. This is of course his queen, who never fails to accompany him in such scenes elsewhere. Her legs can be discerned behind him below the large vacancy left by the piece which has flaked off. (See also Fig. 34, right-hand column). On the left (Fig. 37) the heaven-band of Seti I is interrupted by the chiseling away of Ikhnaton's crown, the oblique lines of which can still be followed (Fig. 42). Over

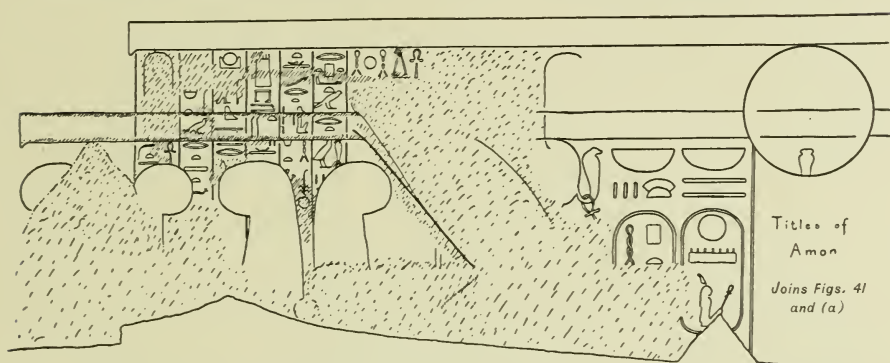


FIG. 42.—Southern Column, left side, upper portion of relief, showing titles of Queen Nofretete, crown of Ikhnaton and two heaven-bands, one across disk of Ikhnaton.

the upper end of the crown, *above* Seti's heaven-band (that is, outside of the limits of his relief, Fig. 42), is the conclusion of the usual formulae following a king's name. At the right of the mutilated crown is a fragment of the royal oval once containing the king's name. We thus have here again the figure of Ikhnaton facing his god, but mutilated from head to foot beyond recognition, if other evidence were not obtainable for identifying it. Just as on the right, the heaven-band above Ikhnaton here on the left, extends out behind him far enough to cover another figure, and fortunately we have here inscriptional evidence to determine whom it represented. In six columns extending directly across Seti I's heaven-band are the name and titles of Nofretete, Ikhnaton's queen. They have been cut into at the bottom by the large feathers rising from the cartouches of Seti I, lost below. They are as follows (Fig. 42): "Hereditary princess, great in favor,

plenteous in love, queen of South and North, . . . the palace, customary . . . embracing (?) . . . (?) great king's wife, his beloved, [Nofretete], living forever."

It is thus clear that the original relief on this column was arranged as follows (Fig. 43):

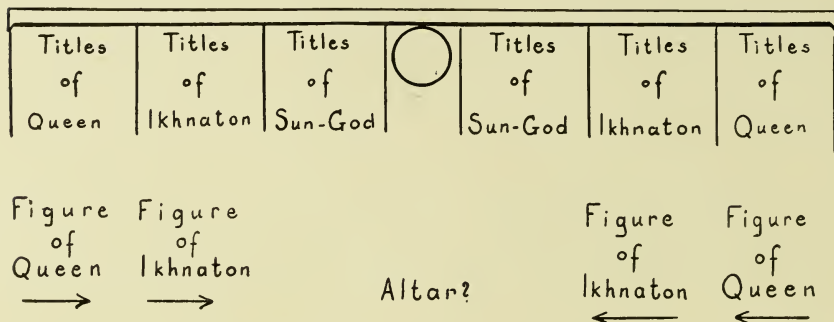


FIG. 43.—Diagram showing Arrangement of Ikhnaton's Expunged Reliefs at Sesebi.

The altar cannot now be traced, but must of course have occupied the center as often at Amarna (Fig. 44). Traces of a vessel sitting on the altar are probable on the middle column. There is no room behind the queen for any of the daughters appearing so commonly at Amarna.

When this column was appropriated by Seti I, his sculptors chiseled out the reliefs of Ikhnaton as far as possible, but the royal figures and especially the sun-disk were too deeply cut to be completely erased, while some of the smaller things, like the titles of Ikhnaton's queen were overlooked or neglected. When the work of erasure and destruction was complete, the defaced surface of the column was filled out, patched, and smoothed with stucco. The reliefs of Seti were then sculptured upon this new surface, partially in the hard stucco patching, partially in the sandstone of the column. Fresh coloring over the whole concealed the stucco patching, and the fraud was only discernible when the colors had disappeared and the weather of centuries had loosened all the stucco till the last vestige of it had fallen out, carrying with it large portions of Seti's reliefs and inscriptions and in places causing their complete disappearance. Thus it is that his cartouches,

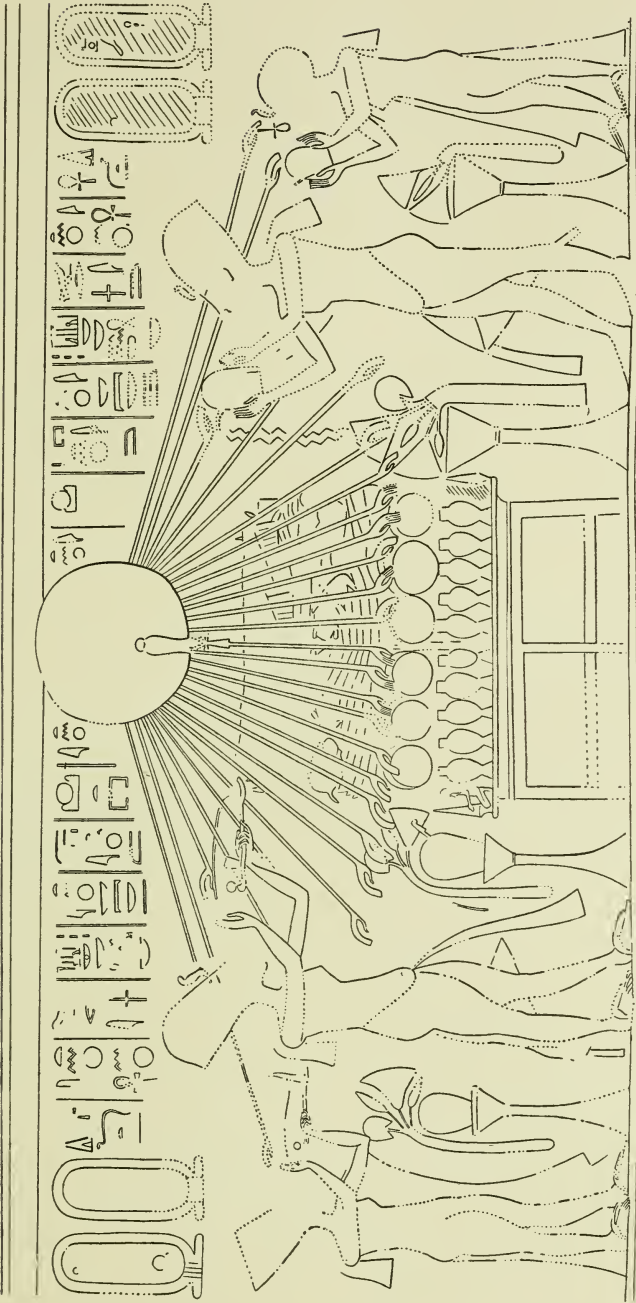


FIG. 44.—Amarna Relief showing Ikhnaton and Queen Worshipping the Sun-disk.

or the name of his god, are now cut into by Ikhnaton's sun-disk, producing the impression that the sun-disk is a later insertion, defacing the reliefs of Seti I. Likewise the figure of Seti himself generally falls almost directly over that of Ikhnaton, so that his *disappearance*, when the stucco fell out involved the *reappearance* of Ikhnaton's form. It is important to recall, at this point, that in Egypt, it is precisely Seti I who so often records his restoration of the iconoclastic work of Ikhnaton.²¹ It is therefore just what we should expect, when we find him here undoing the work of Ikhnaton in Nubia.

On the middle column the reliefs of Ikhnaton are not less unmistakable. Seti I's heaven-band has again been carried directly through the sun-disk which now interrupts it (Fig. 45). The position of Seti's figure on the right (as he offers wine to Amon on the left) is determined by his cartouches, and the inscription describing the cultus act (see *c* above), which is regularly below the extended arms of the offering king. One of Seti's elbows can be seen (Fig. 45) above this inscription (*c*), and the inscription itself is interrupted by the pointed front of Seti's royal kilt, as we have noted above. All the rest of Seti's figure was cut into the stucco, which has fallen off disclosing the familiar lines of Ikhnaton's form. The characteristic profile (Figs. 45, 46) with the protruding chin, unlike that of any other king, is complete with the exception of the lips. Above Seti's one discernible elbow, appear both of Ikhnaton's arms, uplifted in prayer to the sun-disk before him (Fig. 45). The contour of his form, especially the prominent abdomen, above the long skirt, is very characteristic. The front of the skirt projects into the inscription (*c*) under Seti's arm. The heaven-band above him extends far enough to the right to include another figure, and at the extreme right, above the space for this figure is a royal oval, which once of course contained the name of Ikhnaton's queen, as on the southern column, at the extreme left, where her titles terminate in a cartouch in exactly the corresponding position under the end of the heaven-band. Behind Amon on the left the pendant figure of Ikhnaton was stuccoed over and the sculptors of

²¹ See my *Ancient Records*, II, § 878.

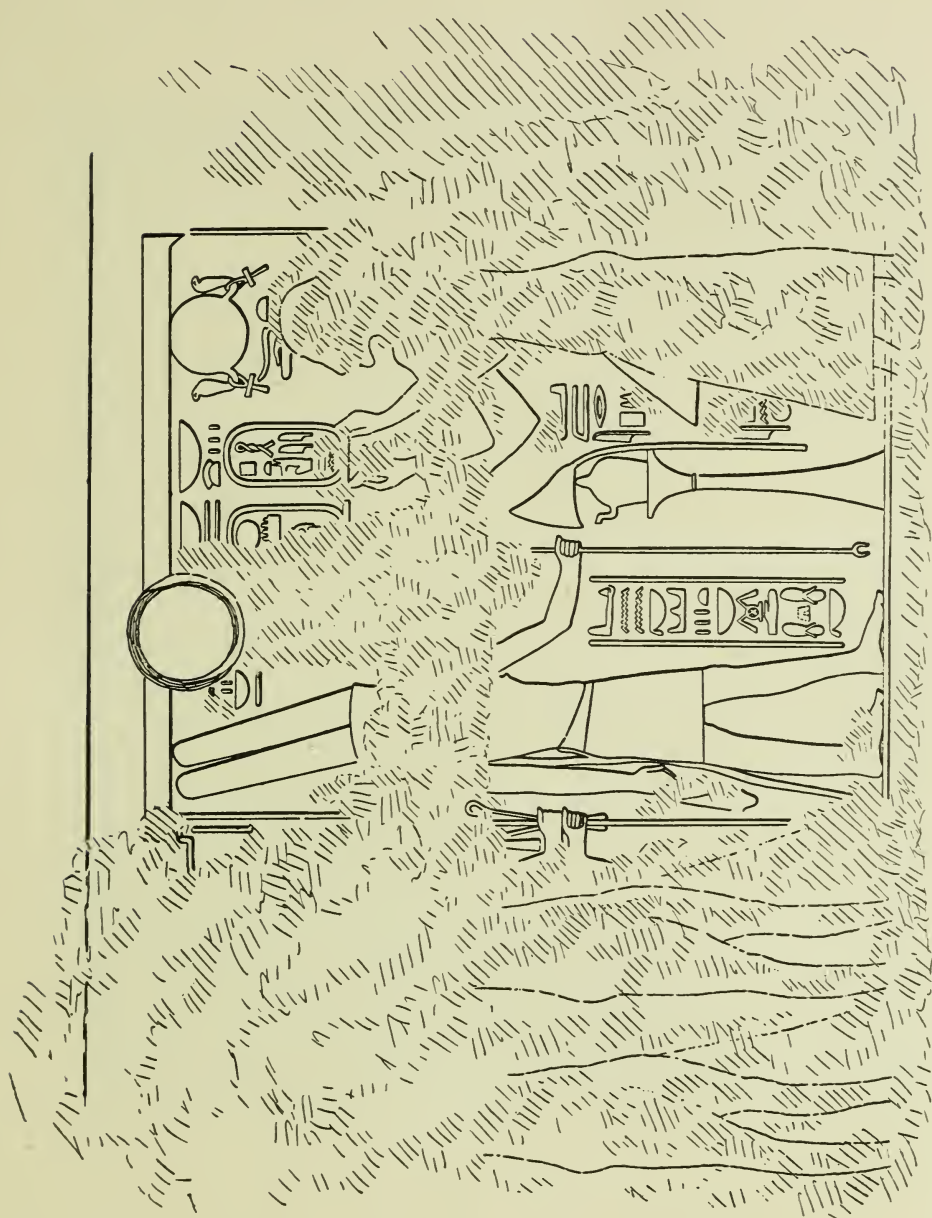


FIG. 45.—Reliefs on Middle Column. Those of Seti I heavy lines; those of Ikhnaton lighter lines.



FIG. 46.—Sesebi Temple. Head of Ikhnaton from Relief on Middle Column.
(See Figs. 38 and 45.)

Seti I cut over it the figure of Osiris or Ptah (Fig. 45) as we have already noticed; but the stucco, having now fallen off, only the hands of the god grasping his insignia are preserved, while the general outline of Ikhnaton's expunged figure is disclosed to view. That of his queen behind him also comes out clearly in an oblique light, so that it is discernible even at a distance of thirty yards, as in Fig. 33 (middle column). It becomes quite evident that the original relief of Ikhnaton, was also here arranged as we have found it on the southern column, first examined (see Fig. 43).

The northern column (Fig. 40) leads to a like conclusion. Here, however, the weather and the more thorough expunction have almost completely obliterated the reliefs of Ikhnaton. The deeply cut sun-disk is of course evident, but of Ikhnaton's figure on this side (right) one discerns only the abdomen, the posterior and the long kilt, across which extends the arm of Seti I's *ka*-figure. The pendant figures of Ikhnaton and his queen on the left, have quite disappeared.

Around the bases of the southern and middle columns is a line of captives like those at Soleb, showing clearly the style of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Those on the north side of the nave are Asiatics, and those on the south negroes. These are clearly the untouched, original sculptures of Ikhnaton.

It is quite evident that we have here a colonnaded temple hall, of which the original author was the great revolutionary Ikhnaton. His reliefs show every characteristic of his monotheistic period, and it cannot be doubted that the building was a sun-temple built by him, the only one from this remarkable man's reign of which any portion is still standing. His reign, after the inauguration of his solar monotheism, continued only ten to twelve years, and in such remote and inaccessible regions of Nubia, it is inconceivable that he could have in so short a time, erected any number of temples to his exclusive god. The reader will recall also that in the inscriptions just one sanctuary of Aton in Nubia is known to us. In the itinerary of king Nastesen, given on his Berlin stela, dating not long after 525 B. C., a town called Gm-Ytn is visited by the king. Schaefer had located this town in the vicinity of the Third Cataract, on the basis of the refer-

ences to it by Nastesen.²² Not long after this the present writer called attention to the fact that in a Theban tomb the sun-temple of Ikhnaton at Thebes bears the name Gm-Ytn.²³ It immediately became evident that the Nubian Gm-Ytn must have been a sun-city and sanctuary founded and named by Ikhnaton, a foundation like that of el-Amarna, its purpose in Nubia being of course like that of el-Amarna in Egypt. When one recalls, that without any prepossessions as to the character or origin of the place, Schaefer had located it in the vicinity of the third cataract, and that we have now found a sun-temple of Ikhnaton at the foot of the third cataract, it becomes evident that our newly found sun-temple of Sesebi is the ancient Gm-Ytn.²⁴

It is presumable that the wall at present inclosing the place, is the wall of Ikhnaton, and that the town which he laid out was no larger. To him who has observed how extremely limited was the settlement around so splendid a temple as that of Soleb, this limited extent of Ikhnaton's town will not seem strange. These Nubian state sanctuaries were but garrisoned strongholds, of limited area, in one corner of which stood the temple. Kummeh and Semneh are typical examples in the Middle Kingdom. Under the Empire it was not different, and Soleb is officially always called: "Stronghold (mnnw) of Khammat (Ḥ'-m-m't)." Likewise, Sedëinga, but a few miles from Soleb was called "Stronghold of Tiy." Naturally the sun-temple erected by the successor of the builder of Soleb and Sedëinga would not differ from these latter places in this respect.

The temple therefore, facing the rising sun as we should expect, stands in the northwest corner of a stronghold also oriented to

²² *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, von Heinrich Schaefer, Leipzig, 1901.

²³ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff.

²⁴ As the god of the place was in later times "Amon of Gm-Ytn," it might be expected that Seti I's reliefs should mention "Amon of Gm-Ytn." But a moment's reflection will show that the name "Gm-Ytn" was certainly *not* preserved in the official documents of the times immediately following the overthrow of Ikhnaton. This is inconceivable. Its name was of course changed by the government; and the old name lived on only in the mouths of the people. Thence at last grew up the term "Amon of Gm-Ytn;" and long after the revolution of Ikhnaton was forgotten, this name of this Nubian Amon gained official recognition. It never occurs in the Nubian inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The earliest known occurrence of the name is in Tirhaka's temple at Gebel Barkal (Napata), where Tirhaka is represented as worshipping "Amon of Gm-Ytn" in one of the side-chapels.

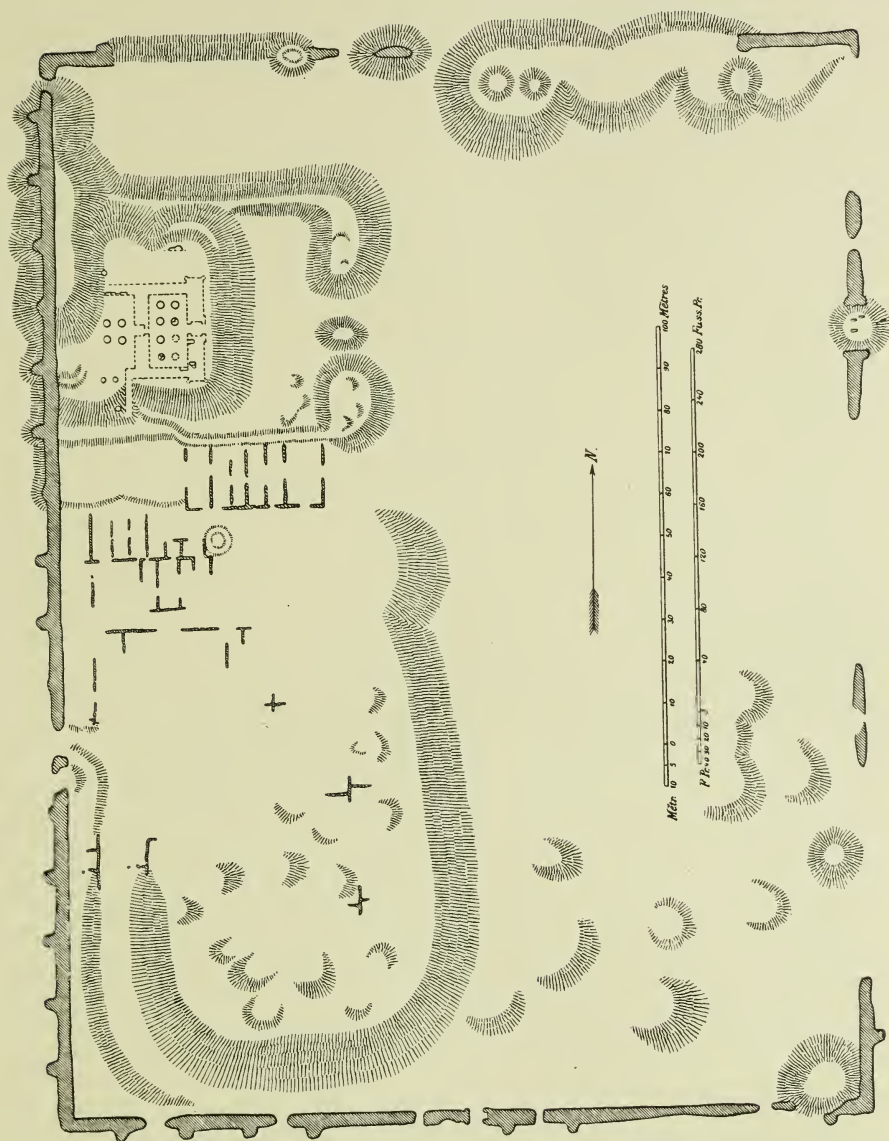


FIG. 47.—Plan of the City of Gem-Aton (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, I, 119).

the cardinal points. The building, like the temples of Kummeh and Semneh, engaged in the wall of the fortress on two sides. This fortress contained the ancient town, which was therefore, like the settlements of Soleb and Sedëinga, of very limited extent. The annexed plan (Fig. 47) will indicate roughly its shape and dimensions, which may be compared also with the accompanying view (Fig. 48). The walls are about 7.50 meters thick, and the southern gate is about 2.25 m. in width. Most of the east wall is down and I could find no gate in it or the north wall. The bricks measure $10 \times 16 \times 36$ cm. The river was falling so rapidly at this time that our departure was imperative, and we could not explore the neighboring country, as I should have been glad to do. We scanned the surrounding hills carefully with glasses in search of the quarries from which the stone for the temple was taken, but could not discover them. They might have yielded a building inscription, like that of Ikhnaton at Silsileh, and furnished us some further clue to the character of his Nubian city and temple.

The origin of the place is therefore evident and in the main its early history clear. Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) in his unparalleled religious revolution about 1370 B. C., sought to bring his whole empire under the dominion of one god.²⁵ As the new religious and political capital in Egypt he founded Akhet-Aton (Tell el-Amarna). But the same must be done for the foreign possessions of the empire, adjacent Asia and Nubia, for as the king sang to his god in,

The countries of Syria and Nubia,
The land of Egypt,
Thou settest every man in his place.

Of the Syrian city or temple which he must have founded we know nothing; but in Nubia he erected at the foot of the third cataract our temple, now called Sesebi, and built with it a walled town. He named the place Gem-Aton (Gm-Yton), after the sanctuary of his god Aton, already existent at Thebes.²⁶ The religious character of the place as a seat of the sun-god Aton, was thus made evident in the name. At the fall of Ikhnaton the Aton-temple at Amarna, as well as all the other Aton-sanctuaries throughout

²⁵ On all this cf. my remarks in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, XL, 106 ff.

²⁶ *Ancient Records*, II, 942.

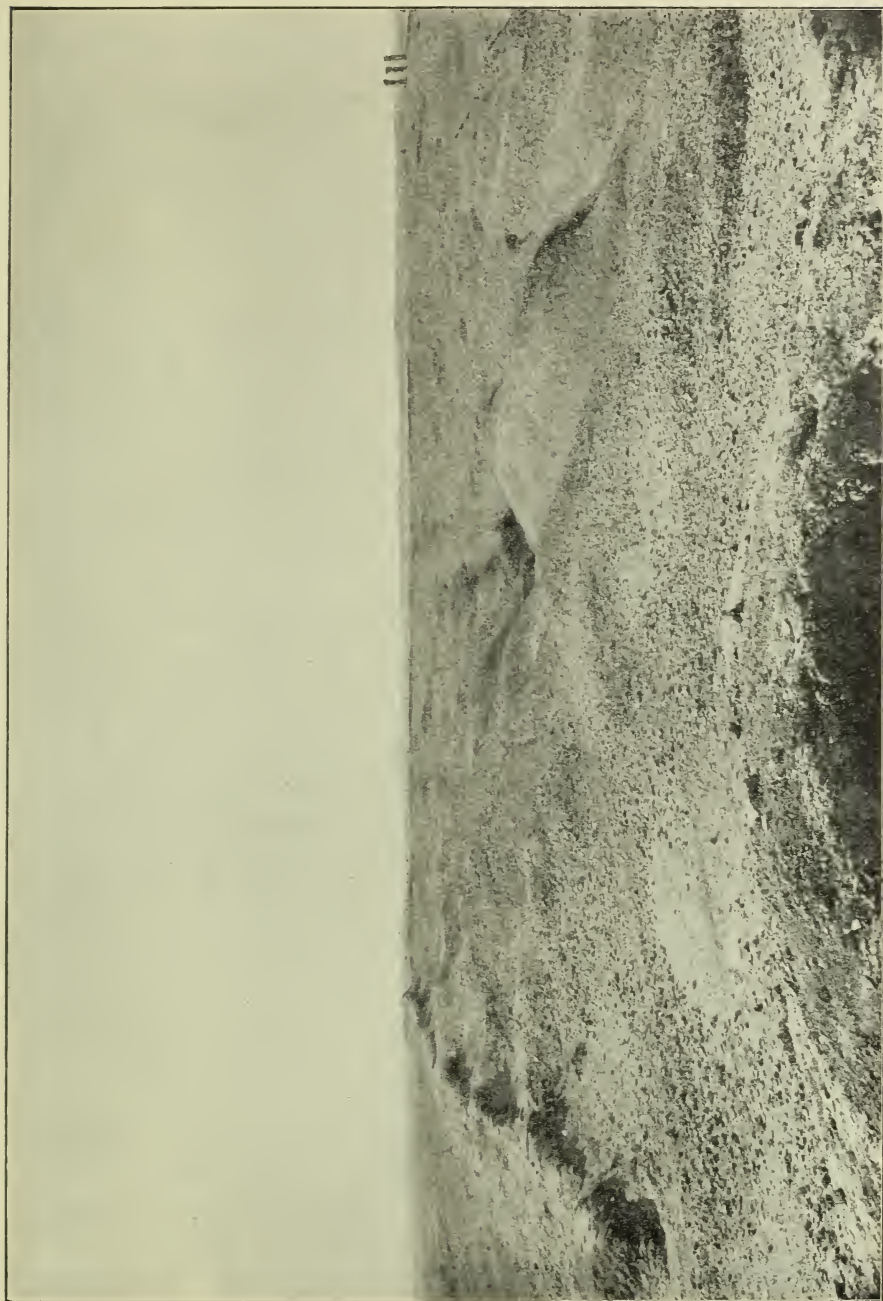


FIG. 48.—General View of Southwest Half of Ikhnaton's Town at Sesobi, Looking Northwest from Southeast Corner. Ruins of houses visible under rubbish.

Egypt were destroyed, and their fragments have occasionally been found built into temples of Ikhnaton's successors. In distant Nubia, however, the temple of Gem-Aton was at a safe remove from the wrath of Ikhnaton's enemies. It escaped the first outburst, and survived through the reign of Harmhab. The people continued to call it Gem-Aton, and fifty years after the death of Ikhnaton, the officials of Seti I found it, still bearing its heretical reliefs and inscriptions, representing the now detested Ikhnaton and his queen, worshipping Aton in his temple. But they did not destroy it as in Egypt. Here, as at the neighboring Soleb, they hacked out the hated sculptures of the heretic, and covering up all trace of them with stucco, they wrought new sculptures on the columns and walls, depicting Seti I worshipping Amon. The place then became a temple of Aton's rival Amon. Its new official name we do not know. The people still continued to call it Gem-Aton. Long afterward when the odium attaching to this name was forgotten, it gained recognition as the official name of the place. In the reign of Tirhaka, nearly seven hundred years after Ikhnaton's revolution we find the town still mentioned, and its god was then officially called "Amon of Gem-Aton." Nearly a thousand years after its foundation by Ikhnaton, Amon, the god whom he so hated, was still worshiped there under the same name. From that time on we know nothing of the city or temple. When it fell into disuse after the christianization of the country, the temple became a quarry for the neighboring kinglet. This continued until all its walls had been removed and its columns one by one disappeared, leaving at last only four. The site remained encumbered with the chips of sandstone, left by breaking up the blocks for easier transportation from the spot (see Fig. 33). Some time since the forties of last century one of the four columns fell, and was carried away in fragments as building stone. Thus the only surviving temple of Ikhnaton has been reduced to three columns, and their battered and weathered records are all that we possess to give us a hint of the unique origin of the place. What secrets of the world's first monotheist still lie hidden there, remain for the spade of the future excavator, who may penetrate into this inaccessible region.

X. TEMPLE OF SOLEB

We finished work at the Gem-Aton temple on January 22, and proceeding a few miles the next day, were held by the furious wind for five days at Gurgot a few miles below Dulgo. When set to tracking, the sailors found it impossible to move the boats, so strong was the gale. I sent a request to the mamûr at Dulgo for more hands at the ropes and he secured nine men for us, but even with these we soon ran into a projecting promontory of rock, around which we could not move, as there was no footing for the men on the other side. The gale quickened into a furious tempest burying us in vast clouds of flying dust and sand. Even in the cabin it fell on one's papers in appreciable thickness, like snow, within an hour. In two hours everything in our cabin was deluged as if by ashes from Vesuvius. There was a pungent odor of dust in the air, it grated between one's teeth, one's ears were full, one's eye-brows and lashes were laden like the dusty miller, it sifted into all boxes and cupboards, photographs and papers, till each leaf was separated from the next by a layer of grit, and it settled on the chemical trays in the dark-room in such quantities that it destroyed disquieting amounts of our precious supplies and sadly injured the plates. At night it was bitter cold; the temperature dropped to 40° (Fahr.) above every morning before daylight, and there was a peculiarly chilling quality in the atmosphere. Our great desire was to reach the temple of Soleb thirty miles away, but even had we been able to secure camels, it would have been impossible to travel in such a gale. By the twenty-sixth of January the wind had been blowing for sixteen days with but one day's moderation, and for eleven days it had raged night and day without a moment's cessation. On the morning of the twenty-seventh, however, we cast off at 4 A. M. with prospects of favorable weather, and having made half the distance to Soleb that day, we pushed on the next morning (twenty-eighth) and reached Soleb on the afternoon of that day.

We were favored with good weather for a few days in the beginning of our work at Soleb, but during the remainder of the ten days we spent there, a heavy wind made photographing on a scaffold excessively difficult, and work of any kind a burden. It

may be said that epigraphic work of any kind is next to impossible during three days out of five at this season of the year in Nubia. The temple of Soleb, erected by Amenhotep III, is the most important monument in the Sudan, and one of the two greatest architectural works surviving in the Nile valley, the other being the temple of Luxor. Of the magnificent temples erected by the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty all have perished save Luxor and Soleb, and we have in Soleb, therefore, one of the finest creations of the Empire. In his great building inscription at Thebes it is thus described by Amenhotep III:

I built for thee thy house of millions of years in the precinct of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (named) "Khammat" (name of the Soleb temple), august in electrum, a resting-place for my father (Amon) at all his feasts. It is finished with fine white sandstone; it is wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver; all its portals are of gold. Two great obelisks are erected one on each side. When my father rises between them I am among his following.²⁷

The place thus bore the name "Khammat" (Ḥ'-m-m'·t = "Shining [or Crowned] with Truth"). It was dedicated to two gods: (1) to Amenhotep III himself under the name: "His Living Image on Earth, Nibmare (Amenhotep III), Lord of Nubia, Great God, Lord of Heaven;" and (2) to Amon. Approaching the temple (Fig. 49) we could find no trace of the two obelisks erected by the king before it. The building is accurately oriented to face the east. It is preceded by a large forecourt bounded in front by a light wall (possibly a pylon), now down and probably not high when perfect. It bears no inscriptions. An avenue of rams in the axis of the building led through this forecourt to the pylon. With one exception the rams have now all disappeared. These are the rams removed by the Nubians to Gebel Barkal, of which one was taken thence to Berlin by Lepsius. The pylon was much wider than the temple behind it. It offers a remarkable architectural feature which deserves further investigation: it was preceded by a large vestibule hall, the side walls of which abutted directly on the middle of the front face of each pylon tower. The north pylon tower is still sufficiently preserved to show the vertical

²⁷ *Ancient Records*, II. 890.

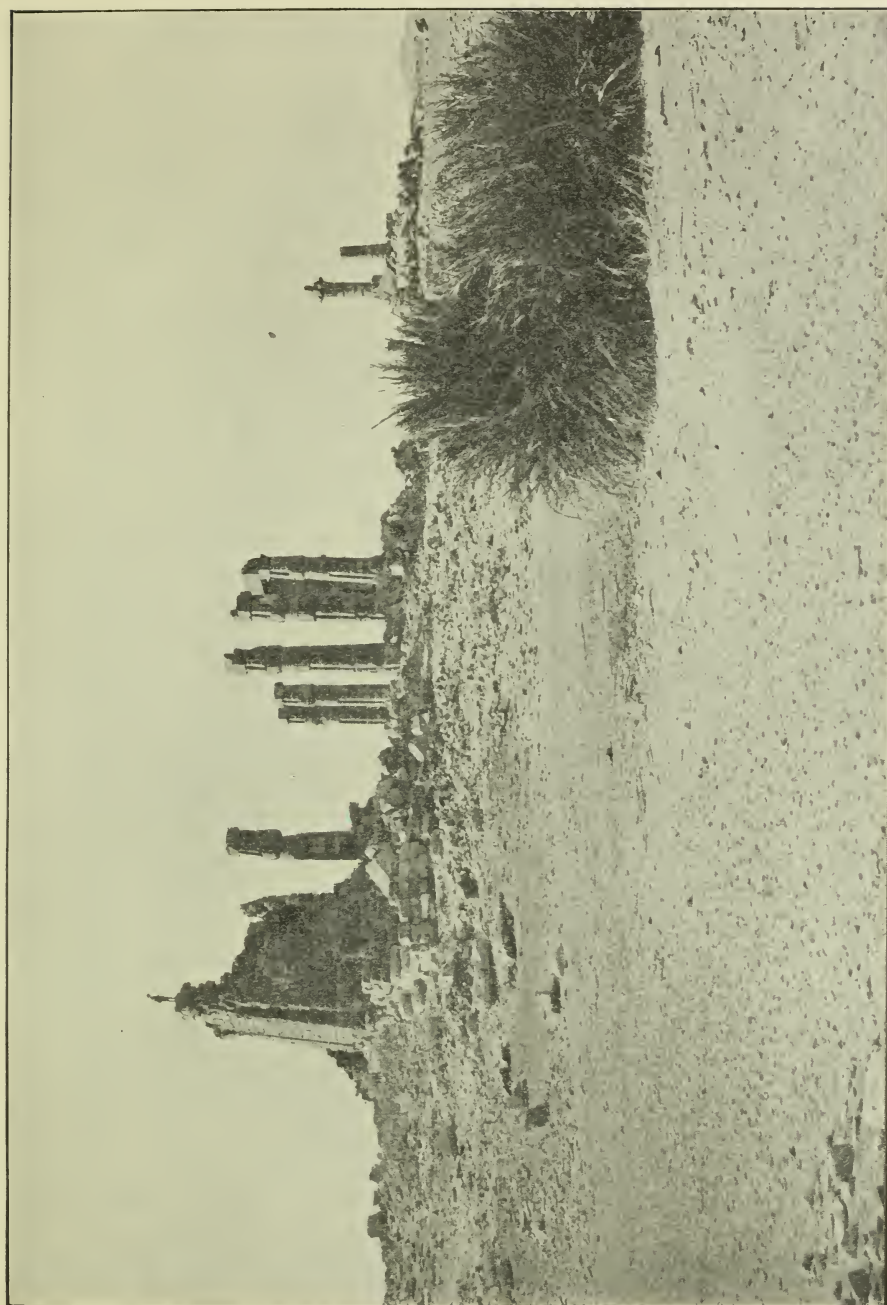


FIG. 49.—General View of Soleb Temple from the North.

line on its east front, where the north side-wall of the vestibule hall impinged on the face of the pylon, extending upward to the cornice of the pylon. At the rear of this imposing hall, immediately in front of the pylon door, are now the bases of two enormous columns, one on each side of the axis, each over seven feet in diameter at the base, while the bases themselves are over twelve and a half feet in diameter. Lepsius still saw eight of these bases in two rows of four each, on each side of the axis and parallel with it.²⁸ Viewed from the entrance, this hall must have been one of the most imposing examples of columned architecture ever conceived in the Nile valley. It is greatly to be regretted that this unique hall has disappeared down to the bases of the columns and walls. It is deeply encumbered with rubbish, but it would amply repay clearance. Behind the pylon the arrangement of the temple is an extension of the usual plan: a large peristyle court of thirty columns, with a double row of columns at the rear and a single row elsewhere, followed by a second similar court of thirty-two columns, and two successive hypostyle halls, with the columned naos itself behind all this. The entire structure including the large forecourt was some six hundred feet long, and Lepsius' draughtsmen saw the bases of one hundred and forty columns. Everywhere in design and execution the building betrays the fine lines and the exquisite proportions of the very best work of the Eighteenth Dynasty architects, who brought Egyptian architecture to its highest level of attainment. It is greatly to be regretted that the superb building lies in a region so remote and inaccessible, and that it has already suffered such sad ruin that it is doomed to complete destruction unless works of sane restoration, or rather of preservation, can soon be undertaken. In Egypt such a building would form a center from which to proceed in the study of Egyptian columned architecture, and a structure to be as sacredly visited and studied by students and travelers as the Parthenon at Athens.

Passing from front to rear (Fig. 49) we meet four series of important documents:

²⁸ There may be some question whether Lepsius actually saw the outermost two pairs, or whether he has restored them in his plan (*LD*, I, 117).

1. Face of pylon (reliefs of Amenhotep IV).
2. Back of pylon (Heb-sed reliefs).
3. North side of door between the two peristyle courts (Heb-sed reliefs).
4. Columns in rear chambers (foreign captive lists).

No study of these important documents has been made since Lepsius visited it sixty-three years ago, though an account of some of them only as published by Lepsius is given by Budge, who visited the place in 1905. He says: "Of the reliefs with which it was decorated we can get a good idea from the drawings published by Lepsius." Budge seems, however, to have made an independent examination of the front of the standing section of the pylon (called by him "second pylon"), from which Lepsius published nothing; for Budge says: "The face of the second pylon was sculptured with large figures of the king [Amenhotep III], who was represented in the act of slaying his enemies" (*Sudan*, I, 612). What this face of the pylon really does contain is of great importance and interest, for the reason that, having been *left bare by Amenhotep III*, his son, the religious revolutionary Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV), whose city we found at Sesebi, filled it with his own reliefs. They form the only extensive series of temple reliefs surviving from the reign of Ikhnaton. In the hollow cornice over the pylon door, in such delicate and flat relief that it is faintly visible only in oblique light for a little while before midday, is a pair of huge cartouches containing the double name, Neferkheprure-Wanre-Ikhnaton. There are in all six relief scenes of Ikhnaton still discernible on the portion of the pylon preserved (only the south half of the northern tower), of which the following five are intelligible:

1. King Ikhnaton stands at the left, while Horus or Re at the right before him are placing a crown upon his head.
2. King Ikhnaton kneels in the middle, while Atum and Re enthroned at the left and right place a crown upon his head.
3. Ikhnaton standing at the right receives the sign of life from his father Amenhotep III as a god at the left.
4. Ikhnaton standing on the right burns incense and pours libation to his father as god at the left.

5. Ikhnaton standing at the right worships Amon standing on the left.

In scenes 3 to 5 the vulture-goddess Buto hovers over the king at the right. These reliefs of Ikhnaton are of especial interest because they date from the earliest years of his reign, from which heretofore we have possessed only the building inscription at Silsileh, and a few small fragments at Karnak. These new Soleb reliefs, therefore, exhibit a number of facts of interest in the course of Ikhnaton's revolution. Three stages in their history are traceable:

I. These reliefs were executed by Ikhnaton's sculptors before his antipathy for Amon had begun; he is, therefore, represented as worshipping both Amon and his own father.

II. Some time before his sixth year,²⁹ the feud with Amon and the other gods having broken out, the name and the figure of Amon, here in his own reliefs and also throughout this temple, were expunged.³⁰ But here a remarkable fact arises: the figure of Ikhnaton's father as god of the temple of Soleb, was respected, even though the king Ikhnaton himself was represented as performing the temple ritual to him as god.³¹ There is not space here to speculate at length on this new fact. We could conceive that Ikhnaton might respect his father's figure without adopting or continuing his father's cult; or if that cult was continued, it is worth while to raise the question, whether the Aton-faith did not continue the solar Heliopolitan theology, in which the king was an incarnation of the sun-god and his visible representative on earth. In continuing his cult it is conceivable that Ikhnaton's theory simply regarded him as identical with the sun-god. It should be noted: first, that as a god Amenhotep III wears on his head a *sun-disk* surmounting a crescent; second, that the cultus-name of Amenhotep III as god in the Soleb temple reads: "His (the sun-god's) Living Image on Earth, Nibmare, Lord of Nubia Great God, Lord of Heaven." The "Lord of Heaven" is of course

²⁹ Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. 38, pp. 91 f.; and my *Ancient Records*, II, § 932.

³⁰ The expungement of Amon from the reliefs of Amenhotep III here was already known especially from the rams and lions. See *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 893 ff.

³¹ We can now understand the fact that likewise on the rams and lions the cultus-name of Amenhotep III was spared, and also in the Silsileh relief of Bek. See *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 893-98, 973.

a sun-god, while "His Living Image on Earth" means the image of the sun-god, and I cannot but believe, therefore, that Ikhnaton was but continuing the cult of the sun-god in continuing that of his father; just as he continued that of Re, of Horus, and of Atum, all sun-gods. To him these latter were identical and did not disturb his monotheistic theology. In the same way we must regard the cult of his father.

III. The final stage of history discernible on this wall and elsewhere in the temple, is that which followed the fall of Ikhnaton, when his figure and name were expunged in turn, while those of Amon and the name of Amenhotep III were everywhere restored, the latter often wrongly as Nibmare, where we should have Amenhotep. This restoration was also known to us from the lions and rams of Soleb long since brought to Europe from Gebel Barkal.

Passing from the front face to the rear face of this northern pylon tower, a not less interesting series of reliefs, from which Lepsius extracted a few isolated scenes,³² is revealed to us. The importance of these scenes lies in their connection, not discernible in the four published by Lepsius, where indeed the most important detail on the walls was omitted, as we shall see. These scenes depict the ceremonies of the royal jubilee known as the Heb-sed (Ḥb-šd) in two series, which we may designate as: first, the Throne Ceremonies; and second, the Ceremony of Striking the City Gates. In the first, the throne (tnt't) is the object of successive ceremonies at the hands of the king and queen, Amenhotep III and Tiye, and the important state officials—each ceremony being called by a special title like "Illumination of the Throne." The ceremonies took place on different days and two at least were "on the morning of the Heb-sed." In one of them the throne was anointed, and we see before it a cabinet containing the ointment which is designated "hall of secret ointment brought before the throne." These throne ceremonies form a series of reliefs in a single bottom row along the lower portion of the wall for perhaps two meters from the pavement. Above this row is the second, larger series, the Ceremony of Striking the City Gates, which occupied all the space to the top of the wall. The two extracts

³² *Denkmäler*, III, 83 b, c, 84 a, b

given by Lepsius, show what has often been recognized as ceremonies in which the king strikes a door with his mace (Fig. 50), but the door has been supposed to be that of the temple of Soleb at its dedication. As a matter of fact the entire large rectangle containing the reliefs (not included in Lepsius' drawings), has the usual form of a crenelated city wall; the doors in question, struck by the king, are the gates of the city, and at each such gate the entrance is protected by a projecting battlemented tower, the wall of which curtains the inner doorway (Fig. 51). The king thus passes from gate to gate of the city, striking the doorpost with his mace and saying: "I have smitten thy door-post, I have struck thee, I have forced (?) thee."

In this ceremony he is accompanied, among others, by a youth who is called "the hereditary prince, the sole companion, Amen-hotep," who can be none other than the crown prince Amenhotep, he who became the fourth of the name and afterward Ikhnaton. In addition to the fact that the king here uses the prehistoric form of mace, which is sufficient evidence that we are here dealing with an archaic ceremony, the formula which he pronounces at each gate, twice contains the archaic absolute pronoun of the second masculine singular, *kw*, found only in the hoary pyramid texts. It is evident, therefore, that we are here dealing with a royal installation ceremony which arose in the remotest antiquity of the Egyptian kingdom. To anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the earliest inscribed monuments of Egypt, it is not far to search what feast or ceremony we are here dealing with. It is the "Feast of Going around the Wall" or the "Circuit of the Wall," already mentioned in the annals of the First Dynasty.³³ There is not space here for discussion of its significance, but it would seem to be evident that it grew out of some historical occurrence, possibly the capture of the capital of Lower Egypt by the king of Upper Egypt at the absorption of the Delta by Upper Egypt in prehistoric days. His knocking at the gates of the northern capital demanding its surrender, might easily become a part of the ceremonies by which the later kings of the united kingdom each celebrated his assumption of power over Upper and

³³ Palermo Stone, Front, l. 2, year 1.



FIG. 50.—Striking the Twelfth City Gate in the Royal Jubilee Reliefs at Soleb. Note city wall and gate at lower edge. Compare Fig. 51.

Lower Egypt now united. Leaving such conjectures, it would be interesting to determine how many gates the city possessed and what city is meant. Unfortunately, as a glance at Fig. 51 will disclose, only two sides are preserved and one of these is incomplete. A reconstruction with the full number of gates on each side is therefore impossible. It is probable that the right side is complete, but the numbers on the original are illegible and uncertain. Assuming that the numbering began at the lower left-hand corner of the city, there were twelve gates above and below, and probably three gates at each end, making thirty gates in all. Assuming that the numbering began at the upper left-hand corner, there were nine gates above and below, and three at each end, or twenty-four in all. Thus far I can discover nothing in the reliefs or inscriptions to determine what city is meant, but it was presumably Memphis, for reasons which space will not permit reciting here.

The only piece of inscribed wall still standing in the temple of Soleb besides the two sides of the section of the pylon, with which we have been dealing, is the north side of the deep doorway (Fig. 49, Door IV), from the first into the second peristyle court. On the north face of this section of wall is a series of reliefs of prime importance in eight horizontal rows, rising one above the other from the floor to the ceiling of the lofty colonnade. We had some difficulty in making the upper rows accessible, owing to their height and the fact that we had been unable to carry our tallest ladders into this inaccessible wilderness. However, I succeeded in borrowing four tall palm trunks forming the roofing timbers of a native's house, who obligingly consented to dispense with the roof of his dwelling for a week, and with these as uprights at the four corners we succeeded in building a scaffolding (Fig. 52), for the floor of which we had only the two gang-planks from the nuggers. One of these was badly fractured in the middle, making the question of its ability to sustain us a piquant element in our long-continued efforts to secure a complete record of this wall. During our entire work upon it, facing the north as it did, we were exposed to a violent north wind which arose soon after our arrival, and at times threatened to

shake down the scaffold. The manipulation of squeeze paper was an impossibility. The operation of a large camera on two crazy planks at an uncomfortable elevation is not easy; when the wind, however, threatens to carry away the instrument every moment, and the wall, always in the shadow and never receiving any sun, must be illuminated with a reflector held by some one standing on the scaffold, the work of securing even poor negatives is slow and painful. We hope, however, that with the negatives

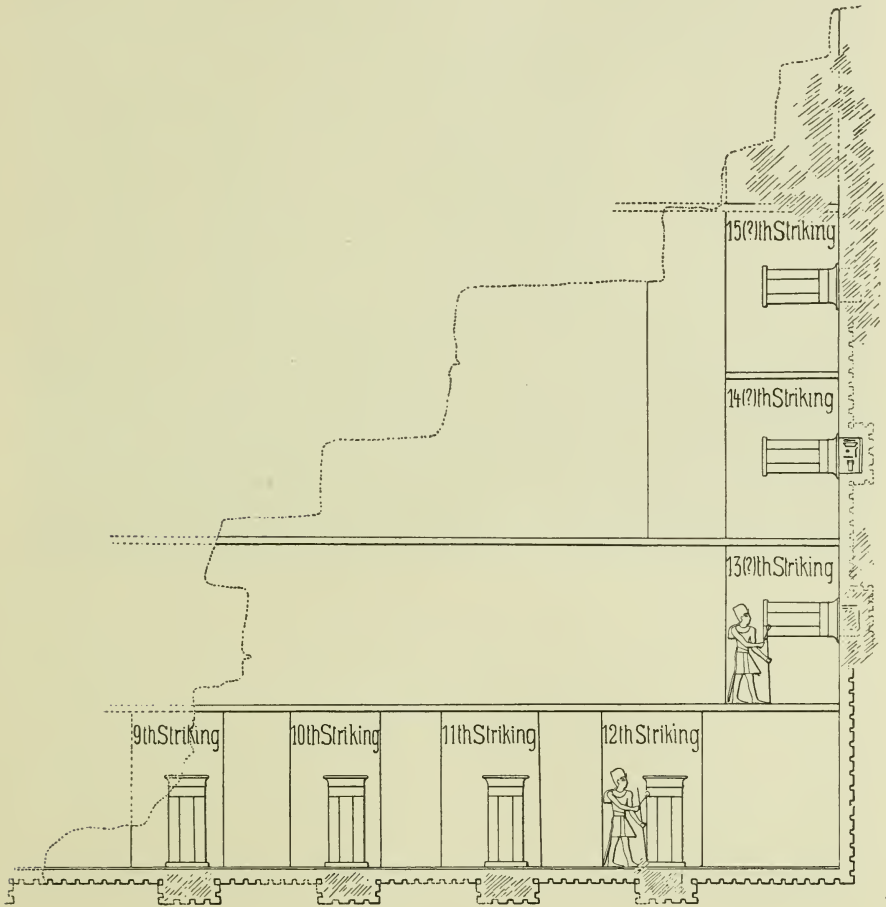


FIG. 51.—Plan of the "Strikings" of the City Gates at the Celebration of the Royal Jubilee as Preserved on the Pylon at Soleb. The royal figure is above inserted only twice; it is to be supplied at each of the gates.

(thirty-two in number) and our hand copies made from the wall, that we have secured about all that it offers.

Two of the eight rows on this wall were copied and published by Lepsius,³⁴ but the subject of the series is not discernible in the publication. At the right-hand end of the lower row, in a scene³⁵ now almost invisible, the king may be discerned as he is



FIG. 52.—Photographing the Reliefs of the Royal Jubilee on Door IV at Soleb.

borne from the palace in a palanquin on the shoulders of his bearers; before him is a retrograde inscription in six vertical lines. The first of these (apparently the last) on long and close inspection certainly begins with the date, which is given as follows: "Year 30, second³⁶ month of the third season (Šmw), first day." This is of course the date of the Heb-sed, the thirty years' jubilee, and to make matters certain, the fourth line begins, "He (Amon) appoints the first Heb-sed for his son, who rests

³⁴ *Denkmäler*, III, 85, 86.

³⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 85b.

³⁶ The conventional or mythological date of the beginning of the Heb-sed is of course the first month of Pr't, that is Tybi; but its actual date varies.

upon his throne." This establishes for the first time the date of Amenhotep III's first jubilee,³⁷ and we thus have in these eight rows invaluable new material for further study of this remarkable feast. The general arrangement of each of the seven rows above the first is as follows:

First, at the left end is the door of the palace ('ḥ'), which the king and queen approach from the right in order to "rest in the palace."

Second, farther to the right an elaborate procession with Upwawet mounted on a very tall pole surmounting a shrinelike base borne on poles on the shoulders of priests. The king and grandees accompany it.

Third, farther to the right, a shrine containing a Khnum, "presider over the chapel of Wnm-ḥrp (or shm), before which the king worships."

Fourth, at the right end various ceremonies, especially the presentation of grain to the king and by him to the god Khnum.

Divergencies from this scheme occur in some cases. The beginning of each row, like the lowermost, is at the right, and when the ceremony depicted in the row is finished, the king enters the palace at the left end of each row. It is possible that each row depicts the ceremonies of a single day. In view of this Heb-sed series at the back of this peristyle court and the other Heb-sed series at the front of the same court (on the back of the pylon), it becomes evident that this court, and perhaps the whole temple, was built to celebrate the king's first Heb-sed jubilee, of which we also hear of the celebration at Thebes. Being built so late in the king's reign, we can now understand why the pylon reliefs on the front were unfinished at the king's death, leaving the face of the pylon to be filled with reliefs by the king's son Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV).

Not a single column of the second peristyle court is still standing (Fig. 49); the walls are also down, the blocks carried away, and even the pavement has been removed. The rear of the temple (Fig. 49), containing a superb palm column, is in somewhat better

³⁷ The year was already known from the tomb of Khamhet at Thebes; see my *Ancient Records*, II, 870 ff.

condition, but almost the only inscriptions there are the foreign captives sculptured on the columns with their names. All these we copied and the most important we photographed. They should furnish some useful ethnological types. At the rear of the temple on the north side is the temple well, solidly lined with masonry to the top. We cleared it to the water level, going down about twenty feet, but found only a few blocks from the temple which at some time had been thrown into it.

The remains of the ancient town are very scanty and limited. On the west is the ancient cemetery, the tombs being cut out of the desert gravel. On the northeast of the temple is a heavy masonry quay extending into the river, but it is uninscribed. Fragments of wall (?) are near it on the north. Three miles north of the Soleb temple is a promontory of sandstone (Fig. 53) projecting into the river on the west shore. It is known as Gebel Dosheh and contains a number of monuments. If it had been better preserved the most important of them would be a cliff-chapel of Thutmose III, now containing only traces of the conventional cultus reliefs, among them, of course, the worship of Sesostriis III as god of Nubia. The face of the rocks bears numerous graffiti of officials who have passed here in the days of the Empire. The most important is a large stela of Amenemopet, viceroy of Nubia under Seti I. It contains a badly cut, but unusual prayer for his prosperity and success, in the course of which the boundaries of Seti I's empire are given as Khenthennofer on the south and Retenu on the north. The gods of this hill are the cataract gods so commonly found in Lower Nubia.

XI. SOLEB TO AMÂRA

By February 9 we had finished our record of the monuments at or near Soleb, and leaving Gebel Dosheh, we reached Sedëinga the same day. It is about thirteen miles from Soleb. This temple built by Amenhotep III for the worship of his queen Tiy as goddess of Nubia, as the fast vanishing dedication on the sole surviving column shows, is in a sad state of ruin (Fig. 54). The only records which it contains are fragmentary reliefs depicting the usual cultus ceremonies. One new datum, however, was discovered,



FIG. 53.—Gebel Dosheh. Photographing the stela of the Viceroy Amenemopet. Our smaller gyassa moored below.

namely, the official name of the place, "Fortress of Tiy," which was noticed by Davies on a badly weathered, half-overturned block. The fallen superstructure so encumbers the place with heavy blocks that it is now impossible to discern the ground-plan of the building without clearance, which we did not undertake.

Passing the large Island of Sai on February 10, we reached its north end, twenty-six miles from Soleb, in the evening of the same day. Here on the east side of the island, crowning the heights overlooking the river is a considerable fortress of some Nubian melek of the last century or two. But there is every evidence that it occupies the site of an ancient Pharaonic fortress of the empire. Within are massive fragments of Pharaonic buildings, columns, door-posts, architraves, and the like, overturned and scattered in the greatest confusion, having evidently been reused by the later Nubians. On the north of the fortress, that is, outside of it, the ground-plan of a small temple can be traced. Whether these fragments were carried in from this temple, or belong to another within the fortress only excavation would determine. A stela of granite nearly four feet high lies among other fragments in the fortress, but as the inscribed face had been used as a millstone the inscription has practically disappeared. It was probably a record of Ramses II, and the date the "year 2." The building was, however, older than this, and we were fortunately able to determine the name of the builder. By digging under one edge we were able to turn over a large door-post weighing several tons, and the side thus exposed was found to contain the fragmentary building inscription of Thutmose III's great viceroy of Nubia, Nehi. In his king's twenty-fifth year Nehi erected the temple here of sandstone, to replace one of brick. He calls this region Š't, confirming the building inscription of Thutmose III at Semneh, which states that he built the Semneh temple of stone of Š't.³⁸ Nehi, therefore, was the first great builder in these upper regions, having also built the temple of Semneh. Another fragment contained the titles of Setau, viceroy of Nubia under Ramses II, among which he is called "governor of the gold country of Amon," thus corroborating our conclusion of last year that there was a

³⁸ *Ancient Records*, I. 510.

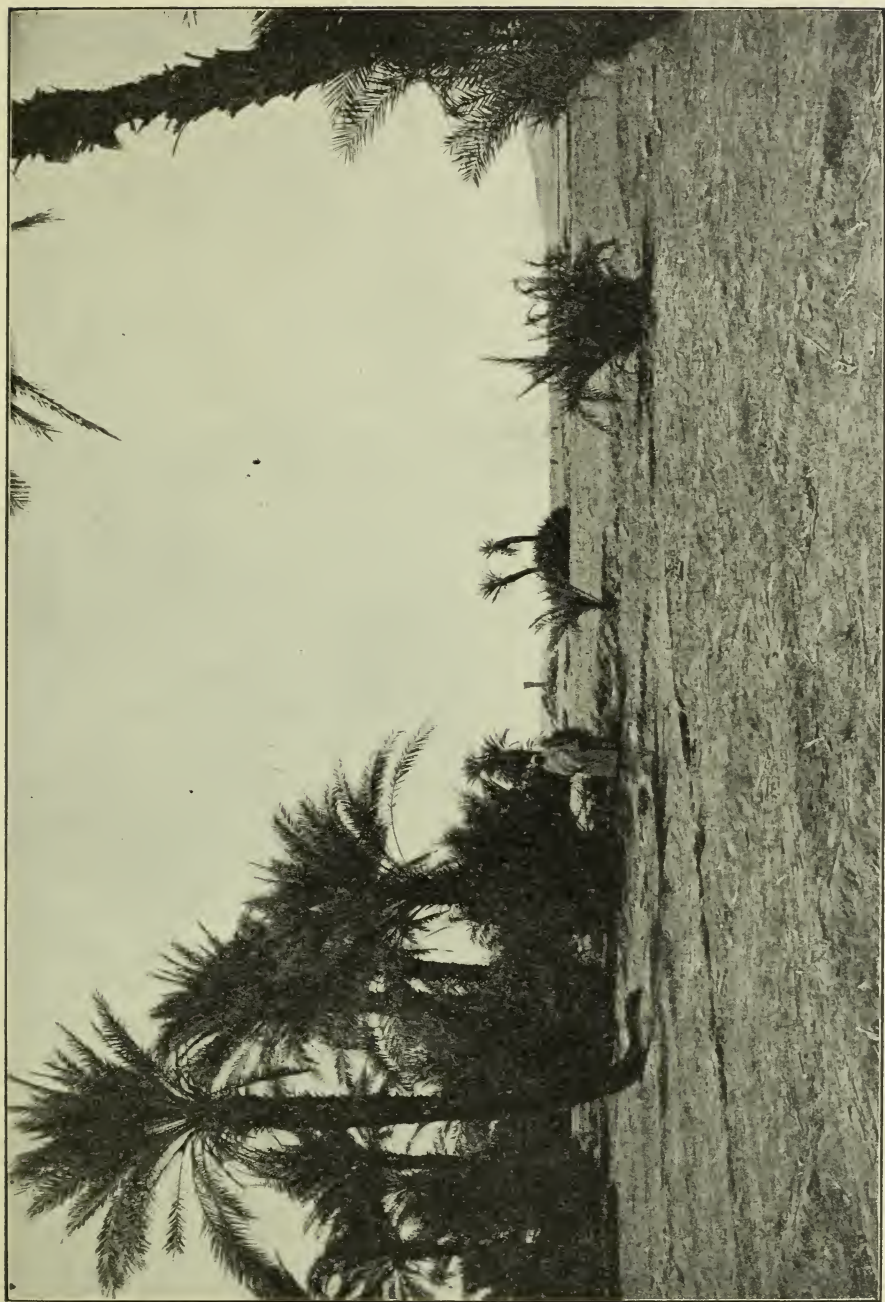


FIG. 54.—The Temple of Queen Tiy at Sedéinga. Seen through the palms of the village.

Nubian gold country of Amon at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.³⁹ A small piece of sandstone bears the title, "Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, deputy of Kush," which looks very much as if the local priesthoods of Nubia under the Empire were incorporated in one general sacerdotal organization under one head. The oldest document on Sai is to be found on a huge piece of the cliff which had fallen out of the east face of the rocks north of the fortress, and now lies close to the river on the east shore of the island. Having turned over in its fall the inscription is now upside down. It is so badly weathered that it was some time before I discovered that it is upside down, not at first thinking that so large a rock (thirty feet square and fifteen or twenty feet high) could have turned over since the making of such an inscription. However, I at last made out, "Year 2 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I)." It was therefore placed here by Thutmose I on the march for his Dongola campaign. A second line is so weathered that I gave it over. Two miles north of the fortress are four columns of a Christian church.

After being delayed a day by a violent northern gale, we crossed with the two nuggers to the east shore and spent the twelfth of February in preparing to leave the boats and transfer to the caravan for the journey through the Batn el-Hagar, now totally impassable to such boats as ours. But as the wind dropped on the thirteenth we floated on, reaching Amâra, the limit of navigation at this season, on the same afternoon. By the kindness of Captain Morant, governor of the Halfa Province we had found camels waiting for us, and they had been following us along shore ever since we left Soleb. By the next day at noon we had, with much regret, unloaded all our supplies and equipment from the two boats in which we had lived for two months and a half, and we saw them sail away southward to return to the government service at Kareima, where they belonged. We kept our felucca, in which we had descended from Abu Hamed through the fourth cataract, for use in exploring the hundred and twenty-five miles of river still separating us from the beginning of our last year's work.

³⁹ See last year's report (*AJSL*, XXIII, p. 20).

Crossing in the felucca to the other (west) side we examined the ruins of a temple of Ramses II, a considerable building. The walls are encumbered to the tops of the doorways, and the place would greatly repay excavation. As informed by Mr. Crowfoot, we found at the rear of the temple a stela of Ramses II. We found it covered with sand, which we removed, and replaced again on the completion of our records. This monument was also excavated by Budge in 1905. He describes it as follows:

We found that the stela of Ramses II had at some time or other been broken to pieces, which had been roughly stuck together with mud and plaster, and that the monument had been re-erected and was held in position by a thick mud wall built up behind it. The inscription so far as I could see it, gave no new facts, and as the stela was made of very soft stone, we decided to cover it again, and leave it there until men could go with a wooden frame and cement, and remove it carefully.

This inscription has never "been broken to pieces" nor "stuck together" again. As anyone familiar with the monuments of Ramses II would see at a glance, this inscription is cut on the courses of a masonry wall, like the Ptah-stela of the same king at Abu Simbel or his treaty of peace at Karnak. The stela thus consists of a panel of masonry, in this case in its original position as part of the outside of the rear wall. It is 1.645 meters wide, and is preserved for a meter and a half from the ground. The mortar has fallen from the joints of the masonry producing troublesome lacunae. Of the first ten lines only the right-hand ends are preserved; otherwise the remaining eleven lines (twenty-one lines in all) are fairly well preserved. They record the building of a temple in Memphis by Ramses II in celebration of his Heb-sed jubilee, Ptah of Memphis being the patron god of the jubilee. As neither the buildings of Ramses II at Memphis, nor his building inscriptions there, are preserved, the monument is of importance. We photographed it in sections and made exhaustively collated hand copies. When the proposed removal takes place, much of the inscribed surface will inevitably be lost, and it would seem that such a record as we took the time to make will then be the only source for a knowledge of the document as found. Owing to a misunderstanding of the local geography,

we failed to visit and inspect the six columns still standing in the small late Nubian temple on the east shore at Amâra.

XII. SECOND CATARACT REGION, KUMMEH AND SEMNEH

On the fifteenth of February, having transferred to the caravan, numbering thirty-three camels in all, we rode along the east shore past the Amâra rapids and reached Kosha in the evening. The railway once connecting Halfa and Kosha has now been discontinued; it would, however, have been of little use to us as we wished to scrutinize the rocks of the Batn el-Ḥagar for inscriptions. At Kosha I had great difficulty in finding a competent cataract reis to take our heavy felucca down the dangerous rapids between there and Halfa. After a pleasant night in the government rest-house at Kosha, it was nearly noon (February 16) before we could gain information of a suitable reis, whom we found later on the same day in a village a few miles farther north. The mamûr at Kosha was very helpful and took us down river to this village in his own boat while our caravan marched beside us. He left us at Sarkamatto, where we took possession of the village shekh's house, which he kindly placed at our disposal. Here on the shore was a very unusual spectacle for this region of the country. The hippopotamus has now disappeared for nearly a century from districts so far north as this, but here we found suspended from a tree the heads of two which had been shot but a few months before by a native of the village (see Fig. 55).

It was to the writer an experience of the greatest interest to enter this wild region of the second cataract, strategically so important in the history of the Nile valley, both ancient and modern. This barrier to any southern advance, where river and shore alike are so beset with vast and tumbled rocks that passage by either is almost equally difficult, has kept the frontier of civilization at a single point and barred its advance for four thousand years—that is longer than at any other ancient frontier in the world. There is not space here to attempt a description of this desolate but wildly beautiful region, through which the raging river forces its troubled passage. We very much regretted, that during our caravan journey and exploration of the region, the north wind was



FIG. 55.—Two Hippopotamus Heads Captured Recently by a Native at Sarkamatto in the Second Cataract Region.

so violent that the landscape was too obscured by flying sand to permit effective photographs to be made. Indeed, on the last day of the journey, our largest camera was overthrown and too seriously damaged by the wind to be used again.

Leaving Sarkamatto on the morning of February 17, we reached Okma the same night, the felucca having kept pace with



56.—View down the Tangûr Cataract in a Sandstorm. Inscriptions of Thutmose I, Thutmose III and Hatshepsut on rocks at left.

us all day. By the afternoon of the eighteenth we had reached the Tangûr rapid (Fig. 56), at the head of which are some interesting graffiti. One on the west side reads: "Year two under the majesty of Thutmose I, who is given life. His majesty passed up stream to overthrow the wretched Kush. When the military scribe Ahmose was counting the ships." Here is a vivid reminiscence of Thutmose I's great invasion of Nubia, when sitting on the shore at the head of the Tangûr cataract, the scribe in charge of the tally counts the ships of the Pharaoh's armada, as they are painfully drawn up through the gate of rocks at the head of the

rapid. In the intervals of his tally, the scribe thus immortalized himself on the huge boulder at his elbow. We were unable to find the inscription of the same year of Thutmose I, adding the day and month, which was long ago reported by a lay visitor,⁴⁰ and I am inclined to think that in this report there is some confusion with the inscription of the scribe Ahmose above. Near it is another dated on the tenth of the sixth month in the fifteenth year of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the queen being placed first. A number by various officials, undated, are on the rocks of the east side.

Having spent the night of the nineteenth at Ambugol, we reached Kummeh and Semneh, our only long stopping-place on the caravan journey, at dusk on the twentieth. Here at either end of a huge granite dam (Fig. 57) extending clear across the river, are the frontier fortresses of the Middle Kingdom, each containing a temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty; while the neighboring rocks abound in inscriptions. In the temple at Kummeh until shortly before our arrival the natives of the village had been living; but through the kind interposition of Mr. Crowfoot, they had been assisted to vacate the place so that we could begin work at once. We found this the most difficult site for work which we had yet met. The strong wind kept the unspeakably filthy dust of the village and the temple interior eddying through the roofless chambers of the building and constantly deluging both our notebooks and ourselves. As sheep, goats, and cattle had lodged in these chambers with their masters for generations, the evident character of this vile filth made work in the Kummeh temple almost intolerable. There was about a meter of rubbish in this temple, which had never been cleared out in modern times. We removed this and found in the court three graffiti of new viceroys of the Empire; two belonging to the same man. Both men's names, as so commonly with the viceroys of Nubia, have been expunged by enemies, but that of one is still discernible as Seni (Šny). In the court at the rear the excavation disclosed a sandstone stela bearing a prayer of Nehi, the great viceroy of Thutmose III. By the generosity of Sir Reginald Wingate, this

⁴⁰ *Ancient Records*, II, p. 28, n. b.

memorial of one of his earliest predecessors in the administration of Nubia, was presented to Haskell Oriental Museum.

On the third day after our arrival we were greatly relieved by the appearance of the felucca, which had come down the intervening rapids with great difficulty and some damage. Without it we should have been unable to cross to the western fort and temple of Semneh, where we now began our records on the twenty-fourth. At the same time work was begun on the numerous graffiti on the rocks east and northeast of the Kummeh fort. Here the officials and garrison of the fort in the days of Abraham, as they loafed beside the road to the fortress gate in the shade of the granite cliffs, have cut their names, titles, prayers to the local gods, and sometimes rude memoranda of the business or occasion which brought them thither. Over four score of these are scattered along this road. A more important series of graffiti here are the well-known Nile levels, records of the maximum height of the river during the inundation, cut in the rocks along the bases of the fortresses during the latter half of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasties. An examination of the neighboring rocks showed pot-holes worn by the high water on the southwest of Kummeh fort far higher than the modern maximum level. Later Davies noticed others at a still higher level in the valley east of the Kummeh fort. We carried the level of these highest pot-holes around to the front of the fortress where we found that the ancient marks were only 60 cm. above the level of the pot-holes. In the Twelfth Dynasty, therefore, the maximum inundation flowed behind (east of) Kummeh and made an island of the headland of rocks on which the Kummeh fort is situated. There can be no doubt that the ancient records mark the actual ancient level of the river, and not some point at a fixed arbitrary unit higher than the actual level of the water; even though the ancient maximum is twenty-five to thirty feet higher than that of today. Some great barrier below Kummeh and Semneh has since been removed by the river. Four thousand years is probably enough lapse of time to account for such a change.⁴¹

⁴¹ It is conceivable that the present granite barrier at Kummeh and Semneh may have been enough larger in the Twelfth Dynasty to cause the ancient high level, but into such researches only a geological specialist can venture.

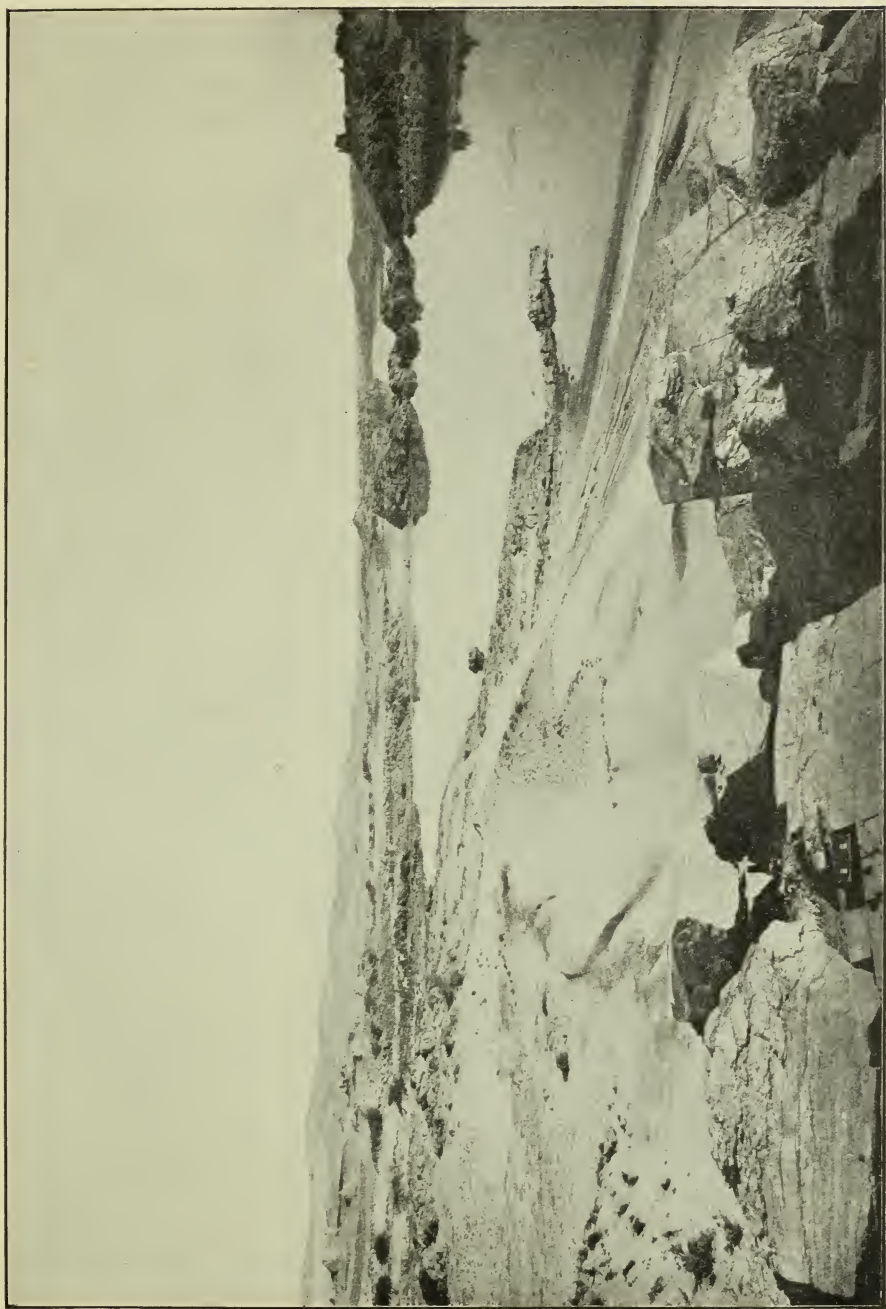


FIG. 57.—Natural Granite Dam at Kummeh and Senneh with the Fortresses at Either End. Looking down stream.

Among the graffiti on the west shore, I found one dated in the seventh year of Amenhotep I. This is the earliest date of the Empire in Nubia, and the southernmost record of this king. It was placed there by "the king's-son of the southern region, Thure," and is, therefore, the earliest viceroval record in Nubia, though the title carried by Thure in this inscription does not entirely conform with that which he bore as viceroy under Thutmose I.⁴² South of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple in the Semneh fortress is a brick temple, which was cleared out by Budge and Crowfoot. The sanctuary contains an altar of Taharka, and in its present form the building is probably of Ethiopian date; but I found in it a fragment of probably a Nineteenth Dynasty inscription mentioning the "countries of Retenu," and the temple is doubtless of older origin. It is worth remembering that Thutmose III affirms that he replaced a brick temple by one of stone here. In front of the altar-chamber is a large hall with fallen stone columns, and the front of the building would repay clearance, though the rubbish lies deep here.

The conclusion of our work on the graffiti was rendered so difficult by the wind, which whirled the sand into one's eyes till sight ceased, that we found it next to impossible to finish and finally did not spend as much time as we could have wished in collating and establishing finally the text of these difficult inscriptions. We spent nine days at Kummeh and Semneh, the other principal documents of which are well enough known not to require enumeration here. Leaving on the third of March we visited the fort of Uronarti, first reported by Steindorff and his party, and camped that night at Sarras. The felucca had great difficulty in passing the Kaginger rapid, where the rudder was smashed. When we reached camp at Gemai on the night of the fourth of March, the felucca failed to appear, and did not again overtake us. This was our last camp and an uneventful march brought us to Halfa, our starting-point of last year, just before dusk on the fifth of March. The next day there was fortunately a steamer going down, and the eighth of March found us again at Aswan, where we spent a fortnight in closing up the season's work, packing away equipment

⁴² *Ancient Records*, II, §64.

and apparatus, in cataloguing the materials collected, while Davies drew a portion of the Heb-sed reliefs from Soleb.

The epigraphic survey completed by the expedition in the two seasons (1905-6 and 1906-7) extends from the southernmost monuments on the Nile northward to the Ptolemaic temples above the first cataract. In returning from this enterprise I cannot but briefly express the deep respect which during the progress of this work I learned to feel for our early predecessors in this field, particularly for Cailliaud and Lepsius. Under more difficult circumstances of travel, so far as reaching these remote regions was concerned, they brought back to the learned world the first adequate record of the numerous monuments scattered through twelve hundred miles of Nile valley above the first cataract. For the personal character and the ability for keen observation exhibited by the then youthful Lepsius, I have gained a profound admiration. It is very much to be doubted if so many-sided an observer, with interests so far-reaching, will ever visit that country again. Only one who has felt the unceasing pressure of the merely material problems involved in keeping an effective expedition in working order in such a country, can fully appreciate the mass of varied results brought back by Lepsius, from the materials for a Nubian grammar to a corpus of the royal names on the Nubian monuments, or a hundred other classes of data collected. The amount brought back by Cailliaud, too, collected almost single handed, was simply prodigious. If, as a result of our work we are ever able to publish a corpus of the written records of this far-off land, we shall be but building upon their foundations.

Finally, it was a source of the deepest gratification to one who knows what this long-suffering country of the Nubian Nile has passed through, to observe the just, humane, and practically effective system of government which it now enjoys. Under the stable conditions and the economic development thus ensured, a certain number of the younger natives are being yearly equipped at Gordon College in Khartûm with trained powers of hand and mind for carrying into its remotest districts an increased ability to further the universal work of regenerating the Sudan, which the British supremacy is steadily and unselfishly accomplishing there.

With this great and exacting responsibility resting upon him, and in view of the fact that the country is still unable to carry its own financial burden, it certainly would have been no matter of wonder, if Sir Reginald Wingate had found it impossible to devote any time or any funds to the preservation of the ancient monuments of the land. But these heavy responsibilities have not withheld him from a broad-minded interest in such remains. A museum collection has already been started in Khartûm, and a department of antiquities, under the able supervision of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, has been established with sufficient funds at least to maintain a watch upon all monuments, and here and there to undertake some works of preservation. When the rapidly improving yearly balance sheet in the Sudan no longer shows a deficit, the organization now effected will offer an excellent basis for extending its present good work, and, we hope, may permit such enterprises as the complete excavation and preservation of the temple of Soleb, and a widespread work of research throughout the land. For what has already been done, however, all archaeologists and friends of antiquity owe to Sir Reginald Wingate a great and lasting debt of gratitude.

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YEZIDI TEXTS

BY ISYA JOSEPH, PH.D.
New York, N. Y.

INTRODUCTION

The Arabic manuscript here printed was presented to me before I left Mosul by my friend Dâud aṣ-Ṣâiğ as a memento of our friendship. Hawāja aṣ-Ṣâiğ was a man of culture, in sympathy with western thought, and an intimate acquaintance of M. N. Siouffi, the vice-consul of the French Republic in Mosul. From the first page of the manuscript it appears that through some Yezidis he had access to their literature. I know that he was in close touch with many of them, especially with the family of Mulla Ḥaidar, which is the only Yezidi family that can read and guard the sacred tradition of the sect.

The manuscript comprises a brief Introduction, the Sacred Books, and an Appendix. In the first, the compiler indicates the sources of his information and gives a sketch of the life of Šeiḥ 'Adi, the chief saint of the Yezidis.

The Sacred Books comprise *Kitāb al-Jilwah* (Book of Revelation), and *Maṣḥaf Rêš* (Black Book)—so named because in it mention is made of the descent of the Lord upon the Black Mountain (p. 124). *Al-Jilwah*¹ is ascribed to Šeiḥ 'Adi himself, and would accordingly date from the twelfth century A. D. It is

divided into a brief introduction and five short chapters. In each, 'Adi is represented as the speaker. In the Preface the Šeiḥ says that he existed with Melek Tâ'ûs before the creation of the world, and that he was sent by his god Tâ'ûs to instruct the Yezidi sect in truth. In the first chapter he asserts his omnipresence and omnipotence; in the second he claims to have power to reward those who obey him and to punish those who disobey him; in the third he declares that he possesses the treasures of the earth; in the fourth he warns his followers of the doctrines of those that are without;" and in the fifth he bids them keep his commandments and obey his servants, who will communicate to them his teachings. The *Black Book*,² which perhaps dates from the thirteenth century, is larger than the Book of Revelation, but is not divided into chapters. It begins with the narrative of creation: God finishes his work in seven days—Sunday to Saturday. In each day he creates an angel or king (*melek*). Melek Tâ'ûs, who is created on Sunday, is made chief of all. After that Fahr-ad-Din creates the planets, man, and animals. Then follows a story about Adam and Eve, their temptation and quarrel; the coming of the chief angels to the world to establish the Yezidi kingdom; the flood; the miraculous birth of Yezîd bn Mu'âwiya; and certain ordinances in regard to food, *ḵawwâls* and *kôchaks*, the New Year, and marriages.

The Appendix contains the following:

1. A collection of materials concerning the Yezidi belief and practice.
2. A poem in praise of Šeiḥ 'Adi.
3. The principal prayer of the Yezidis, in the Kurdish language.
4. A description of the Yezidi sacerdotal system.
5. A petition to the Ottoman government to exempt the sect from military service, presented in the year 1872 A. D.

An analysis of the texts shows that the material is taken from different sources: part of it is clearly derived from the religious books of the sect; another part from a description of the beliefs and customs of the sect given by a member of it to an outsider; a third, partly from observations by an outsider, partly from stories

about Yezidis current among their Christian neighbors. Unfortunately the compiler does not specify whence each particular part of his information is obtained. On closer examination it is evident that part, at least, of the Arabic in hand is a translation from Syriac. See Notes 34, 36, 37, 45.

The Yezidis, frequently called "Devil-Worshippers," are a small and obscure religious sect, numbering about 200,000.³ They are scattered over a belt of territory three hundred miles wide, extending in length from the neighborhood of Aleppo in northern Syria to the Caucasus in southern Russia. The mass of them, however, are to be found in the mountains of northern and central Kurdistan and among the Sinjar Hills of northern Mesopotamia.

By reason of their mysterious religion, the Devil-Worshippers have been an object of interest and investigation for several generations. Our chief first-hand sources of information in regard to the manners, customs, and practices of these people are: Sir Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849), *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853); G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (1852); my honored teacher, Rev. A. N. Andrus, a veteran missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., resident in Mardin, Mesopotamia, "The Yezidis," in the *Encyclopaedia of Missions*; P. Anastase, "The Yezidis," in the Arabic periodical, *Al-Mašrik*, Vol. II (1899); Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, *Persia, Past and Present* (1906); "The Yezidis," in the *International Encyclopaedia*, s. v.; also in *JAOS*, XXV, 178; M. N. Siouffi, "Les Yezidis," in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1882 (vii^e série, T. 20), p. 252, and 1885 (viii^e série, T. 5), p. 78. Siouffi was the first to discover and establish the historical character of Šeiḥ 'Adī, about whom the scholars had been puzzled. He published an extract relating to 'Adī from Ibn Ḥallikān's *Wafaiyāt 'al-Ayān* (bibliographical work). Of the second-hand sources of information may be mentioned *Les Yezidis*, by J. Menant (Paris, 1892), and the article by Victor Dingelstedt, "The Yezidis," in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XIV, pp. 259 ff.⁴

In addition to these descriptions, several manuscripts have come to light of recent years which give a great deal of information about the beliefs and customs of the Yezidis.

Two of these manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris (*Fond Syriacque*, Nos. 306 and 325). A translation of the Arabic (Carshuni) texts in these manuscripts relative to the Yezidis was published by Professor E. H. Browne in an appendix to O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, 1895. Professor Browne at that time proposed to edit the Arabic text (see J.-B. Chabot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1896, ix^e série, T. 7, p. 100); but so far as I can ascertain this intention has not been carried out.

The manuscript translated by Browne, which according to Parry (*loc. cit.*, p. 357) was written by a native of Mosul, seems to be closely related to that printed below. There are, however, some differences in contents and arrangement: my copy is divided into the Book of Revelation, the Black Book, and an Appendix; while Browne's embraces the Book of Revelation (which corresponds to that in my manuscript), and two other "Accounts," the greater part of which is contained in the Black Book of my text, and the rest in the Appendix. Further, in my manuscript *Al-Jilwah* immediately follows the Introduction; while in Browne's the discussion of the sacerdotal system, the petition to the Ottoman government, and some other matters, are inserted between the Introduction and *Al-Jilwah*. In Browne's, moreover, the Poem in Praise of Šeih 'Adî, and the Principal Prayer (in Kurdish) are absent, while the petition to the Turkish government is briefer, and lacks articles iv and xiv. The text of this petition, in its original form, was published by Lidzbarski in *ZDMG*, LI, 592 ff., after a manuscript in Berlin which was procured from Šammas Eremia Šamir.

Two Syriac texts have also been printed. The first, edited and translated by J.-B. Chabot in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1896 (ix^e série, T. 7), p. 100 ff., from the Paris manuscripts referred to above, corresponds, with slight variations, to the second "Account," of Browne (Parry, *loc. cit.*, pp. 380-87).

The second was published with an Italian translation, by Samuel Giamil, under the title, *Monte Singar; Storia di un Popolo Ignoto* (Rome, 1900), from a manuscript copied for him in 1899 from an original in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. The author of this work, a Syrian priest, Isaac, lived for a long

time among the Yezidis, and not only had unusual opportunities of observation, but, as is evident from several anecdotes, possessed their confidence and esteem in a singular degree. - His work is in catechetical form: a youthful Yezidi inquirer questions a teacher about the beliefs, traditions, and customs of his people, and the answers contain the fullest exposition of these matters we at present possess. Occasionally the author falls out of his rôle, and lets it appear that the questioner is no other than Priest Isaac himself.

The work is divided into ten sections, which treat respectively of the works of God and his abode (p. 3); the creation of Adam and Eve (p. 8); the wonderful deeds of the god Yezîd (p. 16); the Yezidi saints (p. 27); the New-Year (p. 32); marriage customs (p. 46); death and burial (p. 53); the pilgrimage to Šeîḥ 'Adî's shrine (p. 67); the festivals and assemblies at Šeîḥ 'Adî (p. 80); and the Yezidi kings (p. 87).

Apart from the *Kitâb al-Jilwah*, Priest Isaac's work is clearly the source from which is derived most of the material in the Syriac and Arabic manuscripts that have hitherto come to light.

Beside the Arabic manuscript from Dâud aṣ-Ṣâiḡ which is printed below, I have in my possession two others, which were sent me by the Rev. A. N. Andrus. The first of these written by Šammas Eremia Šamir (designated in the notes hereafter as SS), seems to be a duplicate of that from which Browne's translation was made. They agree in contents and arrangement, and in certain readings in which they differ from the other texts; see Notes 34, 35, 36, 44, 45, 46 below. At the close of SS the writer says that he compiled it (chiefly from *Al-Jilwah*) for the benefit of some of his friends who wished to acquaint themselves with the Yezidi religion.

The second manuscript is an Arabic translation of Priest Isaac's work, preserving the catechetical form. My copy lacks the first section; elsewhere it differs but slightly from the Syriac text published by Giamil.

The origin of the Yezidi sect has been the subject of much discussion, but no satisfactory solution of the problem has as yet been reached. There are those who assert that the Yezidis are

the remains of the ancient Manichaeans;⁵ others entertain the view that the Yezidis were originally Christians, whom progressive ignorance has brought into their present condition⁶—some even going so far as to connect the name “Yezidi” with “Jesus”!⁷ Some think that the Yezidi sect takes its name from the Persian word *yazd*, ‘god, or good spirit,’ over against Ahriman, the evil principle;⁸ while others associate it with *Yazd* or *Yezid*, a town in central Persia the inhabitants of which are chiefly Parsees.⁹ Some finally maintain that the sect was founded by Šeiḥ ‘Adī.¹⁰

The Yezidis themselves had a curious legend connecting the name with the Caliph Yezīd bn Mu‘āwīya¹¹ (see below, p. 128).

In a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Harvard University I called attention to a statement of aš-Šahrastānī the importance of which seems hitherto not to have been appreciated, but which appears to me to give the most probable explanation of the name and of the original affinities of the sect. The passage is as follows (*Kitāb al Milal wan-Nihal*, ed. Cureton, I, 101):

The Yezidis are the followers of Yezīd bn Unaisa, who kept friendship with the first Muhakkama, before the Azariḳa; he separated himself from those who followed after them with the exception of the Abadiyah,¹² for with these he kept friendly. He believed that God would send an apostle from among the Persians, and would reveal to him a book that is already written in heaven, and would reveal the whole (book) to him at one time,¹³ and as a result he would leave the religion of Mohammed, the Chosen One—may God bless and save him!—and follow the religion of the Sabians mentioned in the Koran.¹⁴ (These are not the Sabians who are found in Ḥarān and Wasit.¹⁵) But Yezīd associated himself with the people of the Book who recognized the Chosen One as a prophet, even though they did not accept his (Mohammed’s) religion. And he said that the followers of the ordinances are among those who agree with him; but that others are hiding the truth (كفار) and give companions to God (مشركون), and that every sin, small or great, is idolatry.¹⁶

The statement of Aš-Šahrastānī is so clear that it can bear no other interpretation than that the Yezidis were the followers of Yezīd bn Unaisa. He calls them his *aṣḥāb*, that is, his followers, a term by which he designates the relation between a sect and its founder.¹⁷ The statement comes from the pen of one who is

considered of the highest authority among the Arab scholars on questions relating to philosophical and religious sects.¹⁸ This precise definition of the position of Yezîd bn Unaisa in the sectarian conflicts of the first century of Islam seems to show that he had exact information about him.

The prediction about the Persian prophet is quoted, almost in the same words, by another great Mohammedan authority on religious sects, Ibn Ḥazm, who lived a century before Aš-Šahrastānî. (The Egyptian edition of Ibn Ḥazm, Vol. IV, p. 188, reads Zaid bn Abi Ubaisa; but that Unaisa should be restored is evident from the fact that Ibn Ḥazm is at pains to distinguish the author of this unorthodox prediction from the well-known traditionist of that name—e. g., Tabari, I, 135.¹⁹ The confusion of *ابيسة*—*انيسة* is easy: the Yale manuscript of Ibn Ḥazm leaves the ambiguous consonant unpunctuated.²⁰)

The prophecy was perhaps preserved among the leaders of the Abadiya, with which sect Yezîd bn Unaisa is associated. Aš-Šahrastānî's statement, the significant part of which we have found also in Ibn Ḥazm, was doubtless derived from an older written source.

Who is intended by the coming Persian prophet—if, indeed, any particular individual is meant—it is not possible to determine. Kremer²¹ cannot be right in identifying him with Šeiḥ 'Adi, for the supposed prediction was in circulation a century or more before his time. He is said to have been, not a Persian, but a Syrian from Baalbek or elsewhere in the West; and both in Arabic authors²² and in his own writings²³ he appears as a Moslem, a Sufi saint in good standing. The Yezidis to this day await the appearance of the Persian prophet.²⁴

On the basis of these scanty bits of fact, it appears that: The Yezidis were originally a Ḥarijite²⁵ sub-sect, akin to the Abadiya, bearing the name of their founder, Yezîd bn Unaisa. Certain distinctive Ḥarijite peculiarities seem indeed to have outlived among them the common faith of Islam; such as the tolerant judgment of Jews and Christians; the condemnation of every sin as implicit idolatry. In their new seats in Kurdistan, whither they migrated about the end of the fourteenth century,²⁶ they were drawn into

the movement of which Šeih 'Adī was in his life time the leader and after his death the saint, and ended by making of him the incarnation of God in the present age.²⁷ With this they joined elements drawn from Christianity,²⁸ with here and there a trace of Judaism, and with large survivals of the persistent old Semitic heathenism, many of which they share with their neighbors of all creeds.

Difficult problems,²⁹ however, remain unsolved, especially the origin and nature of the worship of Melek Tā'ūs.³⁰ The certain thing is that the actual religion of the Yezidis is a syncretism, to which Moslem, Christian (heretical, rather than orthodox), pagan, and perhaps also Persian religions have contributed.³¹

Some of those to whom I am much indebted for useful suggestions and valuable assistance in bringing out the facts that I have stated above are my most honored and respected teachers, Professors Charles A. Briggs and Francis Brown of Union Theological Seminary, and Professors Crawford H. Toy and George F. Moore of Harvard University. I am under especial obligations to Professor George F. Moore for directing me in my work and assisting me in the preparation of this manuscript for publication.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه ونكتب تاريخ اليزيدية واعتقادهم واسرار ديانتهم وبعض من كتبهم التي وصلتها يدنا من عليهم ورضاهم.

في زمان المقتدر بالله سنة مائتين وتسعين هجرية كان منصور الحلاج وشيخ عبد القادر الكيلاني في ذلك الوقت ظهر انسان اسمه الشيخ عادي من جبال الحكارية اصله من اطراف حلب او من بعلبك جاء وسكن جبل لالش قريب مدينة الموصل نحو

تسع ساعات. والبعض قالوا انه من اهل حرَّان ونسبته الى مروان بن الحكم فانه شرف الدين ابو الفضائل عادي بن مسافر بن اسماعيل بن موسى بن مروان بن الحسن بن مروان وكان وفاته سنة خمسمائة وثمانية وخمسين هاجرية وقبره يزار الان وهو قريب قرية باعدري من قُرى الموصل تبعد عنها احد عشر ساعة. واليزيدية لهم نسل الذين كانوا مريدين عند الشيخ عادي المذكور. والبعض منهم ينسبون الى يزيد ومنهم الى حسن البصري.

• كِتَابُ الْجَلْوَةِ •

الموجود قبل كل الخلايف عند طاوس ملك وهو ارسل الى هذا العالم عبد طاوس لكي يميّز ويفهم ويعلم لشعبه الخاص من التيه اولاً بتسليم مشافهة وثم بهذا كتاب الجلوة الذي ما يجوز لاحد من الخارجين ان يقرأه او يراه.

• الفصل الاول •

انا كنت. وموجود الان. وليس لي نهاية. ولي تسلط على الخلايف. وتدبير مصالح كل الذين تحت صورتي. وانا حاضراً سريعاً للذين يتقون بي ويدعونني وقت الحاجة. ما يخلو عني مكان من الدنيا. مشترك انا بجميع وقائع التي يسمونها الخارجين شرو. لانها ليست حسب مرامهم. كل زمن له مدبر وذلك بشوري. كل جيل يتغير. حتى رئيس هذا العالم والروساء يكون كل واحد بدوره ونوبته لكي يكمل وظيفته. اعطي رخصة حسب حق الطبيعة

للانسان. يندم ويجزن الذي يقاومني جميع الالهة ليس لهم
مداخلة بشغلي ومنعي عنها قضية مهمة كانت جميع الكتب
الموجودة بين الخارجين بدّلوا فيها وزاغوا عنها ولو كتبوها
الانبياء والمرسلين لان كل واحد يبطل الآخر وينسخ كتابه. الحق
والبطل معلوم عندي. حين وقوعهم من التجربة اعطي ميثاقي
للذين يتكلمون عليّ واعطيهم راي المديريين الحدّاث لاني وكلنتهم
لاوقات معلومة عندي. اذكر واحرك امور اللازمة في حينها. ارشد
واعلم الذين يتبعون تعليمي. واذا سمعوا قولي ووافقوا مشورتني
يجدون فيه لذة وفرحاً وخيراً لهم.

• الفصل الثاني •

انا اكفي واجازي نسل آدم بانواع اعرفها. بيدي قوى وتسלט
على جميع ما في الارض من فوقها وتحتها. ما اتبل مصادقة غير
عوالم. وما امنع خير الذين هم خاصتي وبطوعي. اسلم شغلي بيد
الذين جربتهم وهم حسب مرامي. اظهر ببعض الانواع والاشكال
للذين هم أميين وتحت شوري. اخذ واعطي. اغني وافقر. اسعد
واشقي. وذلك حسب الظروف والاوقات وليس من يحق له ان
يتداخل بشي من تصرفي. اجلب الالواع على الذين يضادوني
ما يموت الذي هو من حسبي مثل الخارجين من بني ادم. ما
اسمح لاحد بان يسكن هذه الدنيا اكثر من الزمن المحدود
مني. واذا شئت ارسلته مرة اخرى ثانياً وثالثاً الى هذا العالم او
الى غيره بتناسخ الارواح.

٠ الفصل الثالث ٠

ارشد من غير كتاب. اهدي غيباً احبائي وخواصي. جميع
تعاليمي بلا كلوفة موافقة لالحال والزمان. اقاصص الذين يخالفون
شرايعي بعوالم الاخر. بنوا هذا ادم ما يعرفون الاحوال المزمعة
لذلك يستقطن اوقات كثيرة بغلط. حيوانات البر وطيور السماء
وسمك البحر جميعهم بيدي وتحت ضبطي. جميع الخزاين والدفائن
التي تحت الارض عندي واخلفها من واحد الى واحد لمن اریده.
اظهر معجزاتي وعجائبي للذين يقبلوها ويطلبوها مني في حينها.
والاجنبيين هم مخالفون ومضادون لي ولا يباليون بذلك وهم ما
يدرون هي ضرر عليهم. لان العظمة والثروة والغنى هم بيدي.
وانا اختار من يليق لها من نسل آدم. وتدابير العوالم وانقلاب
الاجيال وتغير مديريتهم منظومة مني منذ القديم.

٠ الفصل الرابع ٠

حقوتي ما اعطيها لغيري من الالهة. اربعة عناصر. واربعة
ازمنة. واربعة اركان سكت بها لاجل ضروريات المخلوقين. كتب
الاجانب من اليهود والنصارى والاسلام اقبلوا منها ما يوافق
ويطابق سنني. وما يخالف منها فلا تقبلوه لانهم غيروه. ثلث
اشياء هي ضدي وثلث اشياء ابغضها. الذين يحفظون اسراري
ينالون مواعيدي. والذين ينالون المصائب بسببي لابد ان
اكافهم باحد العوالم. جميع تابعي ارید ان يتحدوا برباط واحد
لئلا يضادهم الاجانب. يا ايها الذين تبعتم كل وصايي وتعاليمي

انكروا كل تعاليم واقوال الاجانب التي ليست انا علمتها وليست هي من عندي. لا تذكرون اسمي ولا صفاتي لئلا تندبون لانكم لستم تدرون ما يفعلون الاجانب.

• الفصل الخامس •

يا ايها الذين امنوا اكرموا شخصي وصررتي لانهم يذكرونكم بي. احفظوا سنني وشرائعي. طيعوا واصغوا لخدامي بما يلقنوكم من علم الغيب الذي هو من عندي. احتفظوا بالعلم الذي يلقنوكم اياه ولا تجوا به قدام الاجانب كاليهود والنصاري والاسلام وغيرهم. لانهم لا يدرون ما هو تعليمي ولا تعطوهم من كتبكم لئلا يغيروها عليكم وانتم لا تعلمون. احفظوا احفظوا اكثر الاشياء غيباً لئلا تتغير عليكم.

تم الجلوة وبليته كتاب محف رش

اي كتاب الاسود

• كِتَابُ مَحْفَ رَش •

اي كتاب الاسود

في البداية الله خلق درة البيضة من سره العزيز وخلق طير اسمه انغر وجعل الدرة فوق ظهره وسكن عليها اربعين الف سنة. اول يوم الاحد خلق ملك عزرائيل وهو طاوس ملك رُئس الجميع.

يوم الاثنين خلق ملك دردائيل وهو الشيخ حسن.

يوم الثلاثاء خلق ملك اسرافيل وهو شيخ شمس [الدين].

يوم الاربعاء خلق ملك ميكائيل وهو شيخ ابو بكر.

يوم الخميس خلق ملك عزرائيل وهو سجادين.

يوم الجمعة خلق ملك شمنائيل وهو ناصر الدين

يوم السبت خلق ملك نورائيل وهو يدين [فخرالدين]

وجعل رئيساً على الجميع طاوس ملك. بعدما خلق صورة السبع سموات والارض والشمس والقمر وفخر الدين الانس والحيوان والطيور والوحوش ووضعهم في جبوب الخرقه وطلع من الدرة ومعه ملايكة فصاح على الدرة صيحة عظيمة فانفصلت وصارت اربعة قطع من بطنها خرج الماء وصار بحراً وكانت الدنيا مدورة بلا فراق ثم خلق جبرائيل وصورة الطير وارسل بيده ووضع اربع قراني ثم خلق مركب ونزل فيه ثلاثين الف سنة. وبعد جاء وسكن في جبل لالش وصاح في الدنيا فجمّد البحر وصارت ارض فبقت تهتز. فعند ذلك امر جبرائيل فجاب قطعتين من الدرة البيضة فوضع واحدة تحت الارض وفي باب السماء سكنت الاخرى. ثم جعل فيهم شمس وقمر. وخلق النجوم من نثر الدرة البيضة وعلقهم في السماء لاجل الزينة وخلق اشجار مثمرة ونباتات وجبال لاجل زينة الارض. خلق عرش على الفرش. وقال الرب العظيم يا ملايكة انا اخلف ادم وحواء واجعلهم بشر ويكون من سر ادم شهر بن جبر. وايضاً منه يكون ملّة على الارض تسمّى ملّة عزرائيل اعني طاوس ملك وهي ملّة يزيدية. ثم ارسل شيخ عادي بن مسافر من ارض

الشام فاتى الى لالش ثم نزل الرب الى جبل الاسود³⁰ وصاح وخلف ثلاثون الف ملك وفرقهم ثلاثة فرق وبدوا يعبدوا اربعون الف سنة ثم سلمهم الى طاوس ملك فصعد بهم الى السموات. ثم نزل الرب الى ارض القدس وامر جبرائيل فجاب تراب من اربع زوايا الارض تراب وهواء ونار وماء. فخلقه وجعل فيه روحاً من قدرته وسماه آدم.

وامر جبرائيل ان يدخل ادم الى الفردوس ويأمره ان ياكل من كل الشجر فقط حنطة لا ياكل.

ثم بقى مائة سنة فقال طاوس ملك لله كيف يكثر ادم واين نسله ان لم ياكل من شجرة الحنطة. قال له الله الامر والتدبير سلمته بيدك ف جاء طاوس ملك وقال لادم اكلت حنطة فقال ادم لا لان الله نهاني. فقال طاوس ملك كل حنطة حتى يصير لك احسن. فاكل ادم من الحنطة وحالاً انتفخت بطنه فاخرجه طاوس ملك من الجنة وتركه وصعد الى السماء.

فتضايق آدم من نفخ بطنه لانه ليس له مخرج فارسل الله له طيراً حتى جاء ونقره وفتح له مخرج فاستراح. وغاب عنه جبرائيل مائة سنة وادم حزين باكي.

فامر الله جبائيل ان يخلق حواء من تحت ابط الایسر. وبعدما خلقت حواء وكل الحيوانات تخصا ادم وحواء على تناسل الجنس البشري وكل واحد منهما يقول للآخر مني هو التناسل وذلك لما نظروا شركة الذكر والانثى ما بين الحيوانات وبعد

المباحثة بينهما صار الاتفاق على هذا وهو كل واحد القى شهوته
بجرة وسدّ فمها بختمه وصبروا تسعة اشهر وبعد ذلك فتكوها فنظروا
واذا بجرة آدم زوج صبيان ذكراً وانثى ومن هولاء تناسلت امتنا
ولما فتحت جرة حواء نظر فيها دود معقنة مكروهة الرائحة. وانبع
الله لادم ثدي وارضع الصبيان الذين خرجوا من جرتة. ولجل
هذه المادة صار للرجل ثدي.

ومن بعد هذا عرف آدم حواء فولدت ولدين ذكراً وانثى وهم
الذين منهم تناسلوا اليهود والنصارى والاسلام وغير ذلك من
الطوائف. اما شيث ونوح وانوش اناس ابرار وهم ابهاتنا الاولين
ومن آدم فقط تناسلوا. وبعد هذا وقع خصومة بين رجل وامرأة
بذلك الزمان الرجل يقول انها امرأتي والمرأة تقول ليس هو زوجي
فحكم بينهم واحد من امتنا الابرار وامر بان يكون بكل عرس
طبل وززنايي وذلك لاجل الشهادة على الزواج لكيما يسمعون الناس
ان فلان اخذ فلانة ناموسياً

ثم نزل طاوس ملك الى الارض لاجل طائفتنا المخلوقة واقام
لنا ملوك. ما عدى ملوك الاثوريين القدماء. وهم نسروخ وهو
ناصردين وكاموش وهو ملك فخردين. وارطيموس وهو ملك شمس
دين. وبعد ذلك صار لنا ملكان شابور اول وثاني. ودام ملكهم
ماية وخمسون سنة ومن نسلهم اقاموا امرأتنا الى الان. وبغضنا
اربعة ملوك. وكان قبل هجي المسيح الى هذا العالم تسمى ديانتنا
وثنية وكان ملك احاب مننا وكان يسمون اله احاب بعلزبول والان

عندنا يسمونه پيربوب. وكان لنا ملك في بابل اسمه بختنصر. واخر في العجم اسمه احشوراش. وفي القسطنطينية ملك اخر اسمه اغريقالوس. وكل اليهود والنصارى والاسلام وغير ذلك من الطوائف حتى العجم ايضاً قاوموا ديانتنا ولكن لا يقدرنا علينا لان الهنا يقربنا عليهم ويعلمنا علم الاول والاخر ومن تعاليمه. انه قبل كون السماء والارض كان الله موجوداً على الابجار [كما كتبنا لكم سابقاً] وانه صنع له مركب يسير في كونسنيات الابجار منتزهاً في ذاته وانه خلق درة وحكم عليها اربعين سنة. ومن بعد ذلك غضب على الدرة فرفسها. فَيَا للعجب العجيب ان صارت من عجيجها الجبال ومن عجيجها التلال ومن دخانها السموات. فصعد الله الى السموات وجمدها وثبتتها بغير عواميد وقفل على الارض واخذ قلم بيده وبدى يكتب الخليفة كلها. ففي البداية خلق ستة الهة من ذاته ومن نورهِ وهكذا خلقتهم كانت تشبه انسان اذا اوقد سراج من سراج اخر.

فقال الله انا خلقت السماء فليصعد واحد منكم وليخلق شيئاً فيها فصعد الثاني وخلق الشمس وصعد الثالث وخلق القمر والرابع خلق الفلك والخامس خلق الفراغ اي نجمة الصبح والسادس خلق الفردوس والسابع خلق جهنم. وبعد ذلك خلق آدم وحواء كما كتبنا لكم سابقاً.

واعلموا ان الطوفان الذي صار وقت نوح صار طوفان آخر بهذا العالم. وامتنا اليزيدية تناسلت من نعي³¹ لوجه³² الملك

المكرم للسلام الذي يُدعى عندنا ملك ميران. وباقي الطوائف تناسلوا من حام الذي اهان ابيه.

اما السفينة فقامت في قرية عين سفى تبعد عن الموصل خمسة فراسخ. وسبب الطوفان الاول هو من اجل استهزا الجنس البشري الخارجي كاليهود والنصارى والاسلام وغيرهم الذين تناسلوا من ادم وحواء لا مثلنا نحن الذين تناسلنا من آدم فقط كما عرفناكم. اما الطوفان الثاني فجاء على امتنا اليزيدية ايضا. فلما تعالت المياه وطافت السفينة فوق الماء صارت فوق جبل سنجار فصدمت بحجر فنقبت فتكعوكت الحية وسدت الثقب فبضت السفينة واتكت على جبل جودي. فكثر جنس الحيّة وكان يلدغ الناس والحيوانات فامسكوها واحرقوها بالنار. فمن رمادها صارت البراغيث في العالم.

ومن الطوفان الى الان سبعة الاف سنة. وبكل الف سنة ينزل الاله واحداً من السبعة آلهة يصنع لنا ايات وقوانين وشرايع ثم يصعد الى مكانه. نزوله يصير عندنا لان جميع المكنات المقدسة هي عندنا. وفي هذا الزمان نزل الله عندنا اكثر من الزمان الماضي وثبت لنا الاولياء. وكان يكلمنا بلسان الكردي.

واضى على محمد نبي الاسماعيليين. وكان عند محمد خادم اسمه معاوية. فنظر الله الى محمد انه لا يسلك مستقيماً امامه فاجع راسه. فقال محمد لمعاوية تعال احلف راسي لانه كان يعرف يحلف فأتى معاوية وحلقه بخفة وصعوبة حتى جرحه وجرى

منهُ دَمًا. فلما نظر معاوية ذلك لِسَحِ الدَّمِ بِلِسَانِهِ خَوْفًا لِّئَلَّا يَقَعَ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ فَقَالَ لَهُ حَمْدٌ مَاذَا صَنَعْتَ يَا مُعَاوِيَةَ. أَجَابَ لِسَحْتُهُ بِلِسَانِي خَوْفِي لِّئَلَّا يَقَعَ دَمُكَ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ حَمْدٌ أَخْطَيْتَ بِذَلِكَ يَا مُعَاوِيَةَ إِنَّكَ سَتَجْذِبُ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَرَأَى³⁴ وَتَلْقَبُ³⁵ لَأَمْتِي. فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ لَا أَدْخُلُ الْعَالَمَ وَأَتَزَوِّجُ أَبَدًا. فَبَعْدَ زَمَانٍ سَلَّطَ اللَّهُ عَلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ عَقَارِبَ فَلَدَغَتْهُ وَرَشَّ سَهْمُ بَوَاجِهِ. فَجَزَمُوا الْأَطْبَاءُ أَنْ يَتَزَوَّجَ وَإِلَّا فَيَمُوتُ. فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ ذَلِكَ رَضِيَ بِالزَّوْاجِ. فَجَابُوا لَهُ أَمْرًا عَجُوزَ عَمَرِهَا ثَمَانِينَ سَنَةً كَيْ لَا تَحْبِلَ فَعَرَفَهَا وَفِي الْغَدِ ظَهَرَتْ ابْنَتُ خَمْسَةِ وَعِشْرُونَ سَنَةً وَذَلِكَ بِقُدْرَةِ اللَّهِ الْكَبِيرِ. فَحَبِلَتْ وَوَلَدَتْ لَالِهَنَا الَّذِي يَدْعَى يَزِيدَ.³⁶ أَمَّا الْأُمَمُ الْغَرِيبَةُ الَّذِينَ مَا يَعْرِفُونَ هَذَا يُجِدُّونَ عَلَيْهِ. فَقَطَّ غُلَطُوا بِذَلِكَ وَضَلُّوا. أَمَّا عِنْدَنَا فَحَنَ طَائِفَةُ الْيَزِيدِيَّةِ لَا تَقْبَلُ ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّا نَعْرِفُهُ إِنَّهُ هُوَ وَاحِدٌ مِنَ السَّبْعَةِ الْأَلْهَةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ. وَحَنَ نَعْرِفُ صُورَةَ شَخْصِهِ وَتَمَثَالِهِ وَهِيَ صُورَةُ الدِّيكِ الَّذِي عِنْدَنَا وَلَا يَجُوزُ لِأَحَدٍ مِنَّا أَنْ يَلْفِظَ اسْمَهُ أَوْ يَشَابِهَ اسْمَهُ كَالشَّيْطَانِ وَقَيْطَانٍ وَشَرٍّ وَشَطٍّ وَمَا يَشَابِهَ ذَلِكَ وَلَا لَفْظَةً مَلْعُونٍ أَوْ لَعْنَةٍ أَوْ نَعْلٍ وَمَا يَشَابِهَ ذَلِكَ جَمِيعَهَا حَرَامٌ عَلَيْنَا أَوَّلًا ثُمَّ احْتِرَامًا لَهُ. ثُمَّ حَرَامٌ عَلَيْنَا أَكْلَ الْخَسِّ لِأَنَّهُ عَلَى اسْمِ نَبِيِّنَا الْحَاسِيَّةِ. وَالسَّمَكُ عَلَيْنَا حَرَامٌ احْتِرَامًا لِيُونَانَ النَّبِيِّ. وَالْغَزَالُ لِأَنَّهُ غَنَمٌ أَحَدُ أَنْبِيَائِنَا. وَالشَّيْخُ وَتَلَامُذَتُهُ حَرَامٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَكْلُ الدِّيكِ لَطَاوُسُ الْهَنَا وَالْقَرَعُ أَيُّضًا مَا يَأْكُلُوهُ هَوْلَاءُ الْمَذْكُورِينَ. وَحَرَامُ الْبُولُ وَقُوفًا. وَلَبَسُ اللَّبَاسِ قَعُودًا. وَالِاسْتِخْلَاءُ

في مكان مخصوص كالعادة البلاد وغسل الحمام جميع ذلك حرام ومن خالفه فقد كفر. اما بقية الطوائف كاليهود والنصارى والاسلام وغير ذلك من الملل ما يعرفون هذه الاشياء لانهم ما يحبون طاوس ملك ولاجل هذا هو ايضاً ما يعلمهم ولا ينزل عندهم اما نحن معشر اليزيدية فاتي عندنا واسلم لنا الحقايق والايات والقوانين والتسلومات حتى صارت كلها بالتناسل وراثه من الوالد الى الولد. ثم صعد الى السماء.

اما السناجق فان واحداً من السبعة الالهة صنعهم واعطاهم الى سليمان الحكيم وبعد موت سليمان تسلموهم ملوكنا ويوم الذي ولد الهنا يزيد البربري³⁷ اخذ السناجق لامنا بتججيل عظيم وصنع لهم مدينتين حتى يرتلون بها ويرجون قدامهم بلسان الكردي المقبول والقديم [ومعنا الترتيل هو هذا هللوا لاله الغيور] والطبول والدفوف والشبابات قدامهم وموضع اقامة السناجق هو عند اميرنا المجالس على كرسي يزيد اما في ارسالهم يجتمعون القوالين عند الامير والشيخ الكبير العمومي ووكيل عوض الشيخ نصر الدين اي نسروخ اله الاثوريين القدماء ويصفون بينهم افتقاراً على السناجق. ثم يرسلون الواحد الى الكلتيين والثاني الى حلب والثالث الى بلاد المسقوف والرابع الى جبل سنجار. هؤلاء الاربعة سناجق يعطون لهولاي القوالين بالضمانه. اولاً يمضون بهم الى الشيخ عادي هناك يعمدوهم بترتيل ورقص عظيم وبأخذ كل واحد من هؤلاء المضمين حملاً من تراب الشيخ عادي ويعملوه

بنادق بقدر العفص ويحملوه معهم مع السناجق حتى يعطوه للبركة ولما يقترب صاحب السنجق لمدينة او الى قرية يرسل قدامه منادي حتى يستعدوا لقبوله بالاكرام والتبجيل فيخرجون جميعهم للغاة بثياب العز الفاخرة مع بخور وعطور والنساء بالتهليل ويزمرون اية الفرح وعند دخوله تكون مزايده العشر في بيت الدي يحل فيه. اما بقية اهل البلد او القرية فيقدمون له هدايه فضة كل واحد على قدر لياقته.

اما السناجق الثلاثة الذين بقوا من السبعة فبعد اخراج الاربعة البار ذكرهم يحفظون هولاء بمكان مقدس للشفاء اثنين منهم يبقون بشيخ عادي. والاخر بقرية بحزاني وهي عن الموصل اربع ساعات. وكل اربعة اشهر يدورون واحد منهم بولاية الامير. وكل سنة واحد يدور وذلك بترتيب. وقبل الخروج يجب ان يغسل بماء حمص بالسماق حتى ينظف من صدائه ثم يدهن بزيت. ثم يوقد عند كل صنم عنده حجرة سراجًا وهكذا تكون امر السناجق.

اما راس السنة عندنا فهو شهر نيسان ويوم الاربعا في اول الاسبوع منه هو ليلة السرصالي [اعني راس السنة] كل بيت يجب ان يوجد به لحم الاغنياء يذبحون غنمًا او ثيران. والفقراء يذبحون دجاجًا او غير ذلك. ويجب طبخهم ليلة الاربعا المذكورة وعند الفجر يباركون للاطعمة. وفي راس السنة يجب الصدقة عند انفس الموتى.

اما الشابات والبنات فعليهم ان يجمعوا من البراري الورود
والزهور من كل جنس ما كان لونه احمر ويشدوه باقات ويحفظوهم
ثلاثة ايام³⁸ ويضعوهم بالابواب معمودية للبيت ففي الغد جميع
الابواب يتراون متزينين بالسوسنان الاحمر. اما النساء فيضعن
اطعمة على القبور لعابري الطريق من الفقراء والمساكين الذين
ليس لهم اطعمة. وللقوالين ان يدوروا حول القبور بالدنوف
والترتيل بلغة الكردية ولهم ان ياخذوا دراهماً عوض ذلك.

وفي هذا يوم السرصالي³⁹ المذكور لا يدق فيه الات الطرب لان
الله جالس على الكرسي ويامر ان يجتمعوا اليه العارفين والقرباء
ويقول لهم اني مزعج ان انزل على الارض بالتبجيل والتسبيح
فحينئذ يقومون جميعهم ويفرحون قدام الله ويلقون قرع التعيد
عليهم ويختم الله بختم ثم يعطي الله الكبير صكاً للاله الذي
ينزل على الارض ويسلم بيده السلطان ان يصنع كل شي كارادته.
اما الصوم والصلوة ان الله لا يشابههم لكن يريد الخير وعمل
الصدقة وان احد الاصنام مثد سجادين او شيخ شمس هو احسن
من الصوم. وعند صيام احد الكوچك اربعين من الصيف او من
الشتاء يجب ان يصنع له احد العلمانيين وليمة واذا قال هذه
الصدقة سنحف فلان يتحل صومه.

لان رجل السنة [اعني عشر تلك السنة] لما ينظر ان
صدقاتهم ناقصة يضربهم بضربات كالموت والامراض وغير ذلك.
وعندما يحدث ذلك يجب ان يعطي الكواچك دراهم حتى يقاتلوا

الجنود الرومانيين لكي يردوا غضب رجل السنة عن الامة. ويجب كل جمعة ان يقدم حملاً واحداً من الصدقات قرباناً للصنم ثم يعطي الخادم تنبيهاً من فوق سطح بيت الكواجك بصوت عالٍ قايلاً دعوة نبي [اعني وليمة فلان] وثم يجب ان ينصتوا الجميع باهتمام واجاب وكل واحد يقبل الارض والحجر المتكي عليها. وايضاً من قوانيننا ان القوالين لا يعبروا موسى على وجوههم. وفي وقت الزواج يجب ان يعطي رغيف خبز من بيت الشيخ وذلك العريس ياكل نصفه والعروس تاكل نصف الآخر وهو كناموس للزواج. او عوضاً عن الخبز ياكلون قليل من تراب الشيخ عادي للبركة وفي شهر نيسان محرم الزواج لانه راس السنة سوى الكواجك ماذون لهم ذلك. واما بنات الكواجك فليس للعلمانيين ياخذهم الا كل واحد ياخذ من جنسه. اما الامير ماذون له ان ياخذ كل من يشتهيها. اما العوام فماذون لهم الزواج من ابن عشرة سنين حتى الثمانين وياخذ واحدة بعد واحدة من النساء الى الستة وعندما ياتون بالعروس الى بيت العريس يلزم ان تفتقد كل شـ⁴⁰ص [قايماات الاصنام] تمر به بطريقها ولو مرّت ببيعة النصرى ايضاً ملزومة بذلك وعند وصولها لبيت العريس يلزم ان يضربها العريس بحجر صغيرة حتى تكون تحت سلطانه وان يكسرون رغيف خبز على راسها حتى تكون محبة للفقراء والمساكين. وليلة الاربعاء والجمعة يمنع من المجمع معها وكل هذا لازم على كل يزيدي ان يحفظه ويصنعه. ومن خالف كفر.

واذا خطف احد امرأت رفيقه او امراته الاولى او اخته او امه
ليس ملزوم ان يعطي مهرها لانها كسب يده اما البنات ليس
لهم وراثة في بيت ابيهنّ انما البنت تباع كالحقل وان أبت عن
الزواج فيجب عليها ان توفي اباهما بالخدمة وتعبد يديها حتى
يعتقها.

تمّ كتاب معكف رش
ويليه بعض حكايات عندهم
يستعملونها سرّاً
وعلانيةً

ملحق

تابع ما قبله

يقولون ان كتبنا قلوبنا ومشايخنا يعرفونا كل شي من ادم
الاخير حتى الان والى المستقبل. عندما يرون شروق الشمس
يقبلون الموضع الذي اشرقت فيه اولاً وعند غروبها كذلك. والقمر
كذلك عند اشرائه وغروبه يقبلون موضعه. ويظنون انه بكثرة
الهدايا للمشايخ واصنام يمنعون عنهم الضربات والمصائب.
ويوجد عندهم اختلاف عظيم بين الكواجك. واحد يكذب الاخر.
واحد يقول انا يظهر لي طاوس ملك بالرويا ويرويني اكتشافات
كثيرة. والبعض يقولون اننا نظهر بوجوه شتى للناس. والبعض
يعتقدون ان المسيح هو شيخ شمس بعينه. ويقرون انه كل حين

يوجد عندهم انبياء وهم الكواجك ومن نبوات احد الكواجك قال اني كنت بسفينة يونان وألقوا القرعة امامي ووقعت على يونان والقوة في البحر ومكث اربعين يوماً مع ليلاليها في البحر. وقال اخر كنت جالساً مع الاله الكبير وقال لي عسى يوجد زمان حتى ارسل المسيح للعالم. قلت نعم وثم ارسله ومن بعدما صنع له آية بالشمس نزل للارض وظهر لامتنا فقط وعمل لنا دوائر سبعة وهم موضوعون الان بشيخ عادي. اما ظهوره لنا لاننا نحفظ الترتيب كالواجب. اما بقية الطوائف لا يحفظون الترتيب مثلنا وليس لهم جنس واصل معلوم مثلنا. نحن امير ابن امير وشيخ ابن شيخ وكوجك ابن كوجك والباقي. واما النصارى والاسلام يعملون قسوس وملاي من الذين ليس لهم جنس بجنسهم احد بهذه الوظيفة لا قبل هذه وغيرها. نحن احسن منهم.

. ثم مباح لنا شرب الخمر. فقط الكوجك وبعض شيوخ لا يشربون. ومباح للجهال بالتشوق في الرقص واللعب مع النساء. وعند موت احد يحضر عنده كوجك ويضع بقمه قليل من تراب الشيخ عادي وقبل دفنه يمسكون وجهه ويضع بعمر غنم فوق قبره ويقربون اطعمة عوض الموتى ثم يعطون دراهماً للكوجك لانهم يصلون للموتى بين القبور. ثم يعرفون اهل الموتى انهم يرون بالاحلام والاكتشافات ويخبروهم عن حالتهم باي جنس حلوا ان كانوا بالجنس البشري او بالجنس الحيواني. ومنهم من يخفي له ذخيرة ذهب او فضة من المسكوكات حتى اذا ولد في

العالم مرة ثانية يخرجها. ومهم يعتقدون انه يوجد من ارواح الابرار والصالحين تدور بالهوى ويكشفون للكواجك الموجودين في العالم الاسرار والخفيات حتى الموت والحياة ايضاً بيدهم وهذه حسب شكر الاعوام وكرمهم لهم.

اما جهنم فليس لها وجود عندهم لقولهم خلقت جهنم في كرامات زمان آدم الاول وبذلك الزمان ولد ابانا ودعي اسمه ابريق الاصفر وكان صاحب كرامات ولجميع كانوا رفقاءه لاجل كرامته. اما هو فلما نظر جهنم بقى حزينا مكتئباً وكان يوجد عنده بقبوق اصفر فبقى باكياً ودمعه تنزل بذلك البقبوق فامتلاء بمدة سبعة سنين. فبعدها امتلاء اخذه والقاه في جهنم فطفيت جميع نيرانها وذلك لئلا يتعذب الجنس البشري. وهذه من كرامات ابينا الاول ابريق الاصفر.

وايضاً يوجد عندهم كثير اولياء من اهل الكرامات منهم محمد رشان ومنامة وري جبل الشيخ متى. انه قوي جداً حتى اعظم الاقسام يحلفون به. واذا تمرّض احدكم يلجئون بالندورات للخاسين⁴¹ [اي قايمات الاصنام]. ومزار اخر اسمه الست نفيسة وهو شجرة توت في قرية بحشيفة. واخر اسمه عبدى رشو في قرية كرابك وهو ايضاً شجرة توت. ويوجد مزار اخر في قرية باحراني اسمه الشيخ بكو ويوجد قريب منه عين ماء وعليها شجرة توت فكل من به مرض الحمي يمضي الى تلك الشجرة ويعلق في غصن منها خرقة من ثوبه ويلقي في العين خبز للمسك حتى يبرى من مرضه.

ولهم اعتقاد ان كل من يحد او ينبث واحدة من تلك الحرق ياتي عليه مرض صاحبه بعينه ويوجد كثير من هذه في قرية بحشيقة وغيرها. ويوجد عين ماء اسمها الدارج عين الصفراء وعندهم كني زر وهي يسبح فيها صاحب مرض ابو صغير. والذي فيه اورام يمضى لبنت الپير الذي في قرية مام رش حتى يشفيه. وعندما يجتمعون في الشيخ عادي لا يؤذن لاحد ان يطبخ شيئاً سوى من مائدة الشيخ عادي. اما الكواجك فيجلس هناك كل واحد على حجرة كمن يصلي والعوام يمضون عندهم ويلتجون بهم ويعطوهم دراهماً ملتسمين وينذرون لتلك الحجر الجالس عليها غنماً وبقراً وغير ذلك كل واحد على حاله واستطاعته.

لان هذه الاماكن ضمانه من راس السنة وعند اجتماعهم في اوقات الزيارة يمضون بالرقص واللعب وغير ذلك من آلات الفرح واما في اكل الكبدوش⁴² هناك [اكل الثور المندور] اولاً يمضون يسبحون بماء زمزم [وهي عين ماء تنبع من تحت هيكل الشيخ عادي] وبعد ذلك ياتون للاكل باستعمال وغفلة ويخطفون اللحم من القدر كالبجائين حتى اغلب الاوقات تحترق ايديهم وذلك من جملة القوانين والشرعية ثم بعد كل الاكل يصعدون للجبل ويضربون تفنكات ثم يرجعون للشيخ عادي وياخذ كل واحد منهم قليل تراب المباركة ويحفظون لوقت الزواج والموت. ولهم احلات مشتبكة يلبسوها واسمها عندهم رباط الظهر. والجميع يعمدوهم بماء زمزم حتى السناجف ايضاً. والذي يدعى الجاويش

منهم يلبس هزار⁴³ منسوج من شعر المعز المرعز طولهُ تسعة شبار وحولهُ سناسل⁴⁴. اخيراً عند المنتهى يجمعون الدراهم عند الامير من الكواجك والمتضمنين ويقسموها عليهم كل واحد قدر درجتِه والباقي له⁴⁵ ولدرجتِه. ولهم ايضاً اجتماع واحد يصير في الحجاج الذي يجب ان يصعدون للجبل الذي يسمونه عندم جبل عرفات ويمكنون هناك ساعة واحدة ثم يسرعون بالجريان للشيخ عادي عاجلاً والذي يصل قبل رفيقه يقبل احسن وهكذا الجميع يصنعون لان البركة الزائدة للسابق. والآخر اجتماع يسمونه طريق الكواجك يربطون كل واحد حبل بربتِه يصعدون للجبل وهناك يجمعون خشب وينقلوه للشيخ عادي حاملينه على ظهورهم للوقوف ولسباط الامير. وعند هذه الاحتفالات اي تفتيل السناجق يلزم اولاً ان يغسلوها بماء حمض بالسماق لكي تنظف من الزنجار ثم يسقون الماء للبركة وياخذون دراهم بذلك. وثانياً يدورون الكواجك بالسناجق لجمع الدراهم.

ثم عند وعظهم يقررون لهم المشايخ ان جميع الملوك هم من سلالتهم مثل نسروخ وهو ناصر الدين. وكاموش وهو فخر الدين. وارطاميس وهو شمس الدين. وكثير مثل هولاء مثل شابور ويورام وكثير من اسماء ملوك القدماء وجميع ملوكهم ومن نسلهم هم. وعلامة اليزيدي انه يلبس القميص صدره مدور ليس كما يلبسوه باقي الناس صدره مفتوح الى حد الغاية. اما الحلفان الذي لا يقدر احدهم ان يحلف به كذباً هو هكذا. تخط له خطّة

في الارض وانت قايل له هذه خـطة طاوس ملك وشيخ عادي
 ويزيد وبري⁴⁵ شبكى. ثم توقفه في وسطها وتقول له ان طاوس
 ملك لا يشفع بعد موتك وجميع المذكورين انفاً وقميص نسيم
 اليهودي في عنقك ويد نسيم تكون على رقبتك وعيونك. ونسيم
 يكون اخوك للاحرة ويكون مكان شيخك وبيرك ان كان ما تقول
 الصحيح. ففي هذا الحلفان لا يقدر ان ينكر شيئاً او يكذب لان
 هذا اليمين اعظم من اسم الله او احد الانبياء عندهم.

وفي السنة يوجد عندهم صوم ثلاثة ايام من الصباح حتى
 المساء وذلك في شهر كانون اول شرقي. والصلوة لا توجد ابداً
 سوى ما ذكرنا سابقاً كزيارة الشمس. والقمر وبعض استعانات
 بالمشايخ والمزارات كقولهم يا شيخ عادي ويا شيخ شمس
 والباقي. والجميع ممنوعين عن تعليم اولادهم القراءة وحرام عليهم.
 فقط يوجد بيتين يعلمون اولادهم لسبب الضرورة وذلك ايضاً
 بالتنازل. وتكتب ايضاً بعض حكايات عنهم سمعناها من اناس
 صادقين وهي وعظ مرة الشيخ ناصر في قرية من جبل سنجاء،
 وكان حاضراً بينهم احد البنائين من النصاري فلما راعم البناء
 انهم اجتمعوا كثيراً حتى ملأوا البيت ظن انه يوجد بينهم بعض
 الصلوة فاتكى بمكانه ورقد رقد الحيلة حتى يتفرج وكان عارفاً
 بلغة الكردية. فلما راوه انه نام بدا الشيخ ناصر يوعظ والبناء
 يسمع فقال ظهر لي مرة بالاكتشفات ان الاله الكبير غضب على
 عيسى لاجل مصلحة كانت بينهم فمسكه وسجنه في جب ليس فيه

ماء ووضع فوق فم الجب حجرة كبيرة فبقى عيسى داخل الجب مدة وهو يندب ويستغيث بالانبياء والاولياء فكل من يستغيث به يدخل على الاله الكبير حتى يرجيه فلم يقبل رجاؤه فبقى حزينا مكتئباً مختاراً فيما يصنع. فسكت عن الوعظ مقدار ربع ساعة وصار سكوت وهدوء في البيت جميعه. ثم قال يا مسكين يا عيسى يا بسيط يا عيسى لما صار لك هذا النسيان لماذا صار لك هذا السهو أما تعرف ان جميع الانبياء والاولياء ليس لهم جاه وعز عند الاله الكبير مثل طاوس ملك لما نسيته ولم تندبه. ثم سكت ثانياً كالاول. وبعده قال فبقى عيسى مدة في الجب الى احد الايام خطر بباله طاوس ملك فاستغاث به وقال يا طاوس ملك اني لي مدة في هذا الجب وانا مسجون واستغيث في جميع الانبياء وما احد قادر ان يخلصني فخلصني انت من هذا الجب فلما سمع طاوس ملك ذلك نزل من السماء الى الارض اسرع من طرفة عين ورفع الحجر من فوق الجب وقال لعيسى اصعد ها قد اتيتهك فصعد عيسى من الجب ثم صعدوا الى السماء. فلما رأى عيسى الاله الكبير قال له يا عيسى من اخرجك من الجب من الذي اصعدك الى هنا من دون امري قال عيسى طاوس ملك اصعدني من الجب واصعدني هاهنا. فقال الاله لولا غيره لكان قاصصته ولكن طاوس ملك عزيز عليّ جداً. فابقى هاهنا كرامة لخاطري فبقى عيسى في السماء. فانظروا الى هولاء الخوارج الذين لا يحبون طاوس ملك اعلموا انه في القيامة هو ايضاً ما يحبهم ولا يشفع لهم اما

نحن فيضعنا جميعاً في طبق ويحملنا على راسه ويدخل بنا الجنة ونحن على راسه في الطبق. فلما سمعوا هذه الموعظة منه قاموا جميعهم وقبلوا ثيابه ورجليه وهم يتباركون منه.

اما معتقدهم عن ولادة المسيح وشرح اسم بطرس الرسول فلهم حكاية بذلك وهي ان العذراء مريم ولدت المسيح ليس كما تلد باقي النساء لكن ولدته من يدها اليمنى ما بين ثيائها ولحمها وكان في ذلك الوقت عادة عند اليهود التي تلد يقدمون لها هدايا جميع اقاربها وجيرانها ويأتون اليها النساء حاملين بيدهم اليمنى طبقاً من الفواكه التي تجد في ذلك الفصل وفي اليد اليسرى حجراً. وهذه العادة قديمة عندهم. فلما ولدت المسيح العذراء مريم اتت اليها امرات يونا [وهي ام بطرس الرسول] حاملة بيدها اليمنى طبقاً من الفاكهة وفي اليسرى حجراً كالعادة فلما دخلت عليها اعطتها الطبق واذا بالحجر التي في يد اليسرى قلبت الى صورة ولد ذكر فدعت اسمه شمعون كيفا [اي ابن الحجر] اما النصارى فلا يعرفون هذه الاشياء مثلنا. ولهم حكاية اخرى يشرحون بها لفظة هرطوتي وهي. ان الاله الكبير عندما خلق السموات اعطى جميع مفاتيح الخازن والبيوت التي بها بيد طاوس ملك واوصاه في احد البيوت ان لا يفتحه. اما طاوس ملك ففتح البيت من دون علم الاله الكبير فوجد فيه ورقة مكتوب عليها لالهك وحده تسجد وله وحده تعبد. فحفظ الورقة عنده وما اعلم بها احداً. ثم ان الاله الكبير خلق طوقاً من حديد وعلقه في

القضاء بين السماء والارض. وبعده خلق ادم الاول وقال طاوس ملك لا اسجد لهُ فُلِحَّ عليه بذلك فاراهُ الورقة التي اخذها من البيت وقال انظر ما مكتوب هنا فقال الاله الكبير عساك فتحت البيت الذي نهيتك عنه قال نعم. قال لهُ هر طوقى⁴⁷ لانك عصيتني وخالفت امري. ومن هنا نعرف ان الله يحكي بلغة الكردية من معنى هذه الكلمة امضي الى الطوف الحديد الذي خلقته لمن يخالف: امري ويعصاني. فعند ذلك الاعتراض عليهم في الحكايات وغيرها ان طاوس ملك [اي الشيطان] قد طرده الله من السماء واحدره الى جهنم لاجل تكبره على الله تعالى فلا يقبلون ذلك ويجاوبون هل يمكن اذا احد مننا غضب على ولده وطرده من بيته يصبر عنه الى ثاني يوم ولم يردّه الى البيت كلا. فذلك الاله الكبير مع طاوس ملك لانه يحبه اكثر ما يكون. ومع ذلك انتم تقرأون في الكتب ولا تفهموا. خصوصاً في الانجيل يقول لا يصعد الى السماء الا الذي نزل من السماء فمن نزل من السماء غير طاوس ملك والمسيح فمن هنا نعرف انه قد تصالح الاله الكبير مع طاوس ملك وصعد الى السماء مثل ما نزل المسيح من السماء وصعد.

حكاية عن الكواجك

حكى مرة ان في احد السنين انقطع المطر في قرية بحشيقه وكان في القرية واحداً من اليزيدية اسمه كوجك بـرو وكان عندهم

من الاولياء احباب المكاشفات فمضوا اليه يتضرعون له حتى ينظر لهم في امر المطر فقال لهم اصبروا الى غدا حتى انظر في ذلك. فاتوا اليه في ثاني يوم وقالوا ما عملت من امر المطر لاننا كثير مقلوبين من انقطاعه. فاجابهم اني سعدت في هذه الليلة الى السماء ودخلت عند الاله الكبير في الديوان وكانوا جالسين عنده الشيخ عادي وغيره من المشايخ والرجال الصالحين وجانبه كان جالس القس اسحاق فلما راني قال لي الاله الكبير ماذا تريد يا كوجك برو لاي شي سعدت الى هنا فقلت له يا ربي اننا في هذه السنة الى الان ما جاءنا مطر وكل عبيدك فقرا محتاجون. فنطلب منك ان ترسل مطراً الينا كالعادة فسكت ولم يجابني. فكررت القول عليه ثانياً وثالثاً وانا اتوسل اليه والتفت الى المشايخ الجالسين طالباً منهم المعونة والشفاعة. فاجابني الاله الكبير امضي حتى نفتكر بذلك. فنزلت ولم اعرف ماذا صار بعد نزولي من السماء ولكن امضوا الى قس اسحاق واسالوه ماذا صار الحكي بعدي. فمضوا الى القس وحكوا القصة وسالوه عن الحكي الذي صار بعد نزول الكوجك برو [وكان هذا القس اسحاق صاحب مزاح كثير] فاجابهم انه بعدما نزل الكوجك برو انا ايضاً رجيت لكم عن المطر فصار القرار انه بعد ستة او سبعة ايام يرسل لكم المطر. فصبر على ذلك فمن الاتفاق العجيب والامر الغريب عن انقضى المدة اتى مدة مطر كالطوفان. فلما راوا صدق الحبر اعتبروا كثيراً القس اسحاق واتخذوه من جملة الاولياء وكانوا يظنون

به أنه لابد من اصل يزيدي. وقد صار لهذه الحكاية ازيد من عشرين سنة وهي من جملة قصص اوليائهم.

ومرة كان الشيخ عادي بن مسافر معزوم هو ومريديه عند الله في السماء ولما مضوا الى هناك ما وجدوا تبين لدوابهم عند ذلك امر الشيخ عادي مريديه ان ينقلوا تبين من بيادته التي في الارض. فلما نقلوا سقطوا البعض على دربهم وبقي علامة في السماء الى زماننا هذا وهو المعروف بدرب التبان. ويزعمون ان الصلوة هي بالقلب لذلك لا يعلمون اولادهم بها ولا يوجد قانون او فرايض للصلوة في كتبهم. وعلى زعم البعض ان الشيخ عادي راح مرة لزيارة مكة مع شيخ عبد القادر الكيلاني وبقي هناك اربع سنين وبعد غيابه ظهر لهم طاوس ملك على صورته وقال لهم بعض قوانين وعلمهم بعض اشيا كثيرة وغاب عنهم. ثم بعد ربعة سنين جاء الشيخ عادي من مكة فردلوه وما قبلوه لزعمهم انه مات او عرج الى السماء وبقي عندهم بدون اعتبار كالاول. فلما حضرة وفاته ظهر لهم طاوس ملك وقال لهم هذا هو الشيخ عادي بعينه فاحترموه ودفنوه بالتيجيل كما يليق به. وجعلوا قبره للزيارة وعندهم هو افضل من مكة وكل فرد منهم ملزوم ان يزوره ولو مرة في السنة ويعطى زيادة مبلغ من الدراهم ترضية على يد الشيوخ والذي لا يصنع ذلك فهو عاصي.

ثم يقولون اما تفضيل زيارة قبره فهو عندنا وعند الله افضل من مكة لان في القيامة يحمل الشيخ عادي جميع اليزيدية في

طبّق على رأسه ويدخل بهم الى الجنة بدون حساب او جواب لذلك فرض علينا قبره ازيد من مكة. ثم يوجد قُبب كثيرة حوالي الشيخ عادي لاجل التبرك منه وجميعها منسوبة الى المشايخ الكبار مثل قبة الشيخ عبد القادر الكيلاني وقبة الشيخ قضيّب البان. وقبة الشيخ شمس الدين وقبة الشيخ منصور الحلاج وقبة حسن البصري وغير ذلك من القُبب والمشايخ ولكل واحدة علماً من الحام علامة للغلبة والنصر. ثم حرام علينا لحم الغزال لان عينيه تشبه عيني الشيخ عادي لان فضائله مشهورة وحامده ماثورة وهو اول من اتخذ اليزيدية وعطى لهم الطريقة ومنه ابتدأت المشيخة وكان مع هذا موصوف ومعروف بالعبادة والرياضة. وكان يسمع الشيخ عبد القادر الكيلاني من بغداد وهو في جبل لالش وثم كان يخط دايرة في الارض ويقول للمتدينين كل من يريد يسمع وعظ الكيلاني فليدخل هذه الدائرة. ومنه ابتدأت هذه العادة عندنا وهي ان اردنا الحلفان لاحد يخط الشيخ دايرة ويدخل فيها الذي يكون مستوجب اليمين. ومرة مرّ الشيخ عادي على البستان فسأل عن الخس فلم يجيبه فقال الشيخ هس فلهذا حرم ولا يوكل. اما الصوم فيقولون عن شهر رمضان كان اصم واطرش فلما امر الله الصوم على الاسلام امر اليزيدية وقال لهم بلسان الكردي سسي معناه ثلاثة وعم لم يفهموا بذلك بل فهموا سي اعني ثلاثين. لذلك يصومون ثلاثة ايام. ثم يعتقدون في العالم المزمع يوجد اكل وشرب وتنعم

بالذات الجسدية. ثم البعض يعتقدون ان حكم السماء بيد الله وحكم الارض بيد الشيخ عادي وذلك كونه عزيز عند الله جداً اعطاه ذلك حسب مراده.

ثم يعتقدون بالتناسخ وحلول الارواح كقولهم لما خرجت روح منصور الحلاج من جسده عندما قتله خليفة بغداد طافت الروح على الماء لانه القى راسه في الماء ومن الاتفاق العجيب والامر الغريب انت اخت المذكور منصور لتبلي جرتها فدخلت روح اخيها في الجرة ولم تشعر بذلك فذهبت بها الى البدار فمن التعب اصابها الضاء فشربت من الجرة فعند ذلك دخلت روح اخيها في بطنها وهي لم تشعر الى ان ظهر الحبل فوضعت ابناً يشبه الشيخ منصور بعينه فصار اخاً لها من النسب وابناً من الحسب. فلذلك ما يستعملون مشروبات اهل فم الضيق او اهل الشبايبك لانها عند شرب الماء منها يخرج لها صوت والشيخ منصور عند القاء راسه في الماء كان له هدير وصوت. فاحتراماً لذلك ما يستعملون الشروبات لصوتها. وعلى زعمهم ان ينتظرون نبي ياتي من العجم ينسخ شريعة محمد ودين الاسلام.

ويقرون بوجود سبعة الهة وكل اله يدبر الكائنات عشرة الاف سنة. وواحد من هؤلاء السبعة هو لوسيفوروس⁴⁷ رئيس ملايكة الساقطين واسمه ايضاً ملك طاوس. ويعملون له صورة مشبوهة من نحاس على هيئة ديك ويمجدون له ويدقون قدامة بالدفوف والرقص لكي يفرح معهم ويدورون به في القرى التي يوجد بها

يزيدية لكي يجمعون الدرام في ادخاله لبيوتهم بنوع التبرك والشوق. وعن الشيخ عادي فالبعض يقولون انه لاهوت والبعض انه مثل وزير ومدير عند الله وكل الامور اليه راجعة. هذا الزمان هو دور ملك طاوس والحكم والتدبير بيده الى عشرة الاف سنة حتى اذا كملت يسلمها الى الاله الثاني حتى يحكم ويدبرها الى عشرة الاف سنة اخرى وهلم جراً الى الاله السابع. ومع هذا يوجد اتفاق ومحبة بين هؤلاء الالهة من دون طمع كل من يحكم ويدبر العالم بمدة العشرة الاف سنة ولهم كتاب اسمه الجلوة ينسبوه للشيخ عادي وليس ماذون لاحد غيرهم ان يقرأه.

ويذكر في بعض كتبهم ان العلة الاولى هو الله اكبر. قبل خليقة هذا العالم كان يتنزه على الاجر وبيده درة كبيرة كان يلعب بها ثم اراد ان يلقيها في البحر فلما القاها تكونت هذه الدنيا منها. ثم يقولون انهم ليس من نسل كما باقي البشر بل ولد كان لادم من تفلته وهم من نسل ذلك الولد ولهذا صاروا عند الاله اشرف باقي الخليقة.

يقولون انهم اخذوا الصوم والخمية من الاسلام والعماد من النصرى وتحريم الماكولات من اليهود والسجود من الوثنيين والخالفة من الرافضة وذبح الاشخاص والحلول والتناسخ من الجهلة والصابئين. ويقولون اذا خرجت روح الانسان من جسده تدخل انسان اذا كانت سالحة وفي الحيوان اذا كانت طالحة.

• مديحة شيخ عادي •

فهمي يحيط الحقايق	وحقي مختلط فيّ
وحق نسلي يظهر من ذاته	ولما عرف كله كان في
كل الذين من العالم هم تحني	وكل المسكونة والبراري
وكل مخلوق تحني	وانا قوة مالكة سابقة كل موجود
وانا هو الذي تكلم كلاماً حقاً	وانا الديان العادل وحاكم الارض
وانا هو الذي تعبدني الناس في مجدي	ياتوا اليّ ويبوسوا رجليّ
وانا الذي بسط فوق السموات علام	وانا الذي صرخ في البداية
وانا الشيخ الواحد الوحيد	[الاشياء]
وانا الذي اتاني كتاب البشائر	وانا الذي اعلن من نفسي كل
وانا الذي ياتون اليه كل الرجال	من عند ربي الذي يحرق الجبال
المخلوقين	ليبوسوا رجليّ بطاعة
اعطي ثمرأ من اول عصير الحداثة	بحضوري وارجع اليّ تلاميذي
وقدام نوره ظلام الصباح زال	ارشد الذي يسأل الارشاد
وانا الذي جعل ادم ان يسكن الفردوس	ونمرود يسكن نار مشتعلة
وانا الذي قاد احمد العادل	وقاده الى طريقتي وسبيلي
وانا الذي كل الخلايق	تاتي لاجل مقاصدي وعطاياي
	الجيدة

وانا الذي زار كل العلاء وجودة وصدقة تخرج مني
وانا الذي جعل كل القلوب تخاف مقاصدي ويعظموا قوة وعزّ رعيي
وانا الذي اليه الحية اتت وارادتي عملتها تراب
وانا الذي ضرب العنصر فارتعش وجعل احلى المياه تخرج من جانبه
وانا الذي انزل بعض الحف من عندي الكتاب الذي يسلي
المظلوم
وانا الذي حكم بعدل ولما حكمتُ كان حقي
وانا الذي جعل العيون تعطي ماء احلى والدّ من كل الامطار
وانا الذي جعله ان يظهر في رحمتي وبقوتي دعوته الطاهر
وانا الذي له قال رب السماء انت الحاكم العادل وحاكم الارض
وانا الذي اعلن بعض من بعض فضايلي ظاهرة في
عجايبي الموجودات
وانا الذي جعل الجبال تحتني تنبتُحرك تحتني وعند ارادتي
وانا الذي صرخت الوحوش قدام رجعوا اليّ عابدين وقبلوا رجليّ
عزة المهيب
وانا عادي الشامي ابن مسافر ان الرحمان الرحيم اعطاني اسماء
العرش السماوي والكرسي والسبعة والارض
في سر معرفتي ما يوجد اله غيري هذه الاشياء خادمة لقوتي
ويا اعداي لِمَا تنكروني يا ناس لا تنكروني لكن اخضعوا
في ملاقاتي سيكون سعيد في يوم الذي يموت في حبي سائقه
الدينونة
في وسط الفردوس بارادتي ومسرّتي لكن من يموت غير بالي عني

سيطرح في العذاب المصيب والشقي اقول اني الوحيد والمتعالي
 اخلف واغني من اريد المدح لنفسي وكل الاشياء
 بارادتي هي
 والكون يتنور ببعض من عطايي انا الملك الذي يعظم نفسه
 وكل غناء الخليقة عند امري عرفتمكم يا شعبي بعض طرقي
 من يشنقني لازم يترك العالم وايضاً انا افدر اتكلم الكلام
 الحقيقي

والجنة في الاعالي هي للذين يعملون مسررتي طلبتُ الحف وصا،
 حق مثبت وبكذا حق سيملكون مثلي المكان الاعلى.

• صلوة المزيديّة •

بِحَمَائِنِي شمس الدين	امين امين امين
سجد الدين شيخ حُسين	فخر الدين ناصر الدين
يا ربي تو كَرِيمِي	شيخ بكر قادر الرحمان
مَلِكِ مَلِكُ وَجِيائِي	تو رَحِيمِي تو خدائي
مَلِكِ مَلِكِي كَرِيمِي	مَلِكِ ذَوَقِ وَصَفَائِي
تو اَبَدِي كَامُ وَرَوَائِي	ز اَزَلَدَه تو قَدِيمِي
وَمَلِكِ جِنِ وَأُنْسِي	صَمَدِ لُطْفِ وَنَوَائِي
صَمَدِي هَايدِ وَحَمِيدِي	مَلِكِ اَدَمِي قُدْسِي
لَايَقِي مَدْحُ وَسَنَائِي	اَبَدِي قَرَضِ وَحَمْدِي
خُدَائِي مَاهِ وَطَارِي	يَا رَبِّي خُدَاوَنْدِي سَقَرِي

خُدَانِي عَرَشِي عَظِيمِي	خُدَانِي شَمْس وَنَارِي
يَا رَبِّي كَسْ نِزَانِي تَو چَارَايِي	خُدَاوَنْدِي عَظَايِي
تَا نَا چُونِي تَا نَا چُنْدِي	تَا نَا حُسْنِي تَا نَا بِلَنْدِي
تَا طَاهِر دِكِر تُوْبَه يِي اَدَم	يَا رَبِّي حَاكَم جَمَاعَه وَعَالَمِي
تَا نَا بَسِيكِي تَا نَا سَنَكِي	يَا رَبِّي تَا نَا مَالِي تَا نَا پَارَه
مَا دِكِرِي غَم وَصَفَا	تَا نَا اَوَرِي تَا نَا رَنَكِي
يَا رَبِّي تَو كَرِيمِي	تَا دِكِرِي عِيسَى وَمَرِيَم
تَو صَمْدِي اَز تَنِيْمَا	رَحِيمِي اَمِينِي
كَتَمِي ژ تَا بِيَرَم [ژ بِيَرِي تَا مَا چِم]	اَز تُوِيْمَا وَكَتَمِي
يَا رَبِّي كُنَاه وَسُجِي مِّن	مَا دِكِرِي ژ طَارِي كَفَشِي
والله والله والله امين.	رَد بَكِر وَحَشَا

وينقسمون الى سبعة طبقات وكل طبقة لها وظيفة مختصة بها لا يقدر غيرها ان يستعملها. وهي
اولاً الشيخ هو خادم التربة ونسله من إمام حسن البصري لا
يقدر احد ان يفتي او يمضي الا الشيخ الذي هو خادم التربة
الشيخ عادي وعنده علامة يتميز بها من غيره وهي يضع على
جسده زنار وعلى يده شبكة كرشمة الجمل فاذا حضر بينهم
يخضعون له ويقدمون الاحترام. والمشايخ يبيعون مكان في الجنة
لمن يريد بدراهم.

ثانياً الامارة وهي منسوبة وخصوصة بذرية يزيد وبیدم شجرة

النسب من الجدد والاباء الى يزيد وهم يتصرفون بحال الجسدانيات
وسياسة الحكومة والامر والنهي.

ثالثاً القوال يختص به خدمة الدفوف والشبّابات والمدائح حسب
الديانة.

رابعاً الپير يختص به الصوم والتزين والانطار
خامساً الكوچك يختص به تلقين وتكفين دينية وتبين
مكاشفات احلام كالنبوة.

سادساً الفقير يختص به تعليم البنين والبنات ذق الدفوف
والرقص وهو ديني وخدمة الشيخ عادي
سابعاً الملا يختص به تعليم الاولاد وحفظ الكتب واسرار دينية
وامور الملة.

ومرة كانت الدولة العثمانية قد ارادت ان تاخذ منهم عسكر
عوضاً عن الاعانة التي كانت عليهم فقدموا للحكومة جملة
القوانين التي تصدعهم عن ذلك وهي دينية مفروضة عليهم وهذه
هي. البند الاول.

بحسب ديانتنا اليزيدية لازم على كل فرد من طايفتنا صغير
وكبير وامرأة وبنات في كل سنة ثلاثة مرات يعني اولاً من ابتداء
شهر نيسان الرومي الى اخره وثانياً من ابتداء شهر ايلول الى
اخره وثالثاً من ابتداء شهر تشرين الثاني الى اخره. اذا لم يزر
شكل طاروس ملك جل شانه. يكفر.

البند الثاني .

كل نفر من طايقتنا صغير وكبير اذا ما زار حضرة الشيخ عادي بن مسافر قدس الله اسرارهما العالية في السنة مرة واحدة يعني من خامس عش من شهر ايلول الرومي الى العشرين بحسب دياقتنا يكفر .
البند الثالث .

لازم على كل فرد من طايقتنا كل يوم في وقت طلوع الشمس ان يزور موضع شروق الشمس بشرط ان لا يوجد واحد من المسلمين والنصارى واليهود او غير ذلك . واذا ما يعمل واحد منهم ذلك يكفر .

البند الرابع .

يلزم على كل فرد من طايقتنا كل يوم ان يمس يد اخيه اخ الاخرة يعني خادم المهدي ويد شيخه او پيره واذا لم يؤدي ذلك يصير عليه كفر .

البند الخامس .

شي ما يمكن احتمالُه بحسب دياقتنا عند الصباح لما يبدون المسلمين في الصلوة يقولون كلام . حاشا اعوذ بالله الى اخره . واذا سمعها واحد منا يلزم ان يقتل نفس القايل ويقتل نفسه . والا يصير كافر .

البند السادس .

وقت الذي يموت واحد من طايقتنا اذا ما كان موجود عند اخوه الاخرة وشيخه او پيره وواحد من القوالين يقول عليه ثلاثة

اقوال يعني يا عبد طاوس ملك جل شأنه لازم تموت على دين معبودنا وهو طاوس ملك جل شأنه ولا تموت على دين غيره. واذا جاك احد وقال لك من دين الاسلام او دين النصرى او دين اليهود او على اديان غير ذلك من الملل. لا تصدقهم ولا تؤمن بهم واذا صدقت او آمنت من دون دين معبودنا طاوس ملك جل شأنه فتموت كافراً.

البند السابع.

عندنا شي يسمى بركة الشيخ عادي يعني تربة الشيخ عادي قدس سره. لازم على كل نفر من طايقتنا يكون موجود عنده مقدار وموضوع في جيبه وياكل منه عند كل صباح واذا ما اكل منه تعمداً يكفر. وايضاً لما يموت عند قرب الموت اذا لم يكن موجود من ذلك التراب المبارك تعمداً يموت كافراً.

البند الثامن.

من خصوص صيامنا. كل فرد من طايقتنا اذا اراد ان يصوم يلزم ان يصوم في حله لا في غير محل. من سبب كل يوم من ايام الصيام وقت الصباح يروح الى بيت شيخه وبيته يمسه الصيام. ثم وقت الافطار ايضاً يلزم يروح الى بيت شيخه وبيته يفطر على اللحم المقدس مال ذلك الشيخ او الپير. واذا ما شرب مقدار قدحين ثلاثة من ذلك اللحم صيامه غير مقبول ويصير كافر.

البند التاسع.

اذا واحد من طايقتنا سافر الى غير محل وبقي هناك اقل المدة

سنة كاملة وبعده رجع الى محله. ذلك الوقت امرأتة تحرم عليه وما احد منا يعطيه امرأة واذا واحد اعطاه يكفر.
البند العاشر.

من خصوص ملبوسنا. مثل ما ذكرنا في بند الرابع على انه كل فرد من طايفتنا له اخ الآخرة. ايضاً له اخت الآخرة. فبناءً على ذلك واحد منّا اذا اراد ان يعمل له قميص جديد يلزم ان لمذكورة اخته الآخرة تفتح زيقه بيدها اي ذلك القميص. واذا لم تفتح في يدها زيقه اذا لبسه يكفر.
البند الحادي عشر.

اذا واحد من طايفتنا عمل له قميص او لباس جديد من غير ما يعمده في الماء المبارك الموجود في حضرة الشيخ عادي قدس سره. ما يمكن يلبسه. واذا لبسه يكفر.
البند الثاني عشر.

لباس الكحلى ما نقدر نلبسه قطعاً. وفي مشط المسلم والنصراني واليهودي او غير ذلك ما نقدر نمشط راسنا ابداً. ولا في موسى الذي يستعمله غيرنا نخلق روسنا فيه. إلا اذا اردنا ان نغسله في الماء المبارك الموجود في حضرة الشيخ عادي ذلك الوقت اذا حلقنا روسنا فيه جاز. واذا لم يكن مغسولاً في ذلك الماء المبارك وحلقنا روسنا نكفر.

البند الثالث عشر.

كل نفر يزيدي ما يقدر يدخل الى الطهارة ولا يروح الى الحمام

ولا ياكل في معلقة المسلم. ولا يشرب في مشربة المسلم او غيره
من الملل السائرة واذا دخل الحمام او الطهارة او اكل وشرب
في معلقة المسلم والذين ذكرناهم يكفر.
البند الرابع عشر.

من طرف الاكل. كثير فرق بيننا وبين ساير الملل. مثل لحم
السمك وقرع وبامية وفاصولة ولهانة وخس ما ناكلهم. حتى
مكان الذي مزروع فيه خس ما يمكن ان نسكنه. لاجل هذه
الاسباب وغيرها ما نقدر بان ندخل في الخدمة العسكرية.
اسامي احباب الامضاء

رئيس طايفة يزيدية امير شيخان حُسين
شيخ روحاني طايفة يزيد ناحية شيخان شيخ ناصر
مختار قرية مام رشان پير سليمان
مختار موسكان مراد
مختار حتاره ايوب
مختار بيبان حُسين
مختار دهكان حسن
مختار حوزران نعمو
مختار باقصره علي
مختار باعشيقه جمو
مختار خوشابا الياس
مختار كرى پاحن صغد

مختار كباره كوچك قاسم

مختار سينا عبدو

مختار عين سفنى كركو

مختار قصر عز الدين شيخ خيرو

مختار كبرتو طاهر. وغيرهم.

هؤلاء كان مكتوب اسمائهم وختمهم في عرض حال الذي ذكرناه

سابق ونقلنا منه بعض اشياء.

فلما قدموا هذه الادعاء جعلوا عليهم مبلغ دراهم كالتصاري

حتى لا يلبسوا اولادهم عسكر. فرضوا بذلك.

THE CHRONICLER AS EDITOR AND AS INDEPENDENT NARRATOR

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I. THE CHRONICLER'S MAIN PURPOSE

The Chronicler is a writer who has received a good many hard knocks—often well deserved—from modern critics of every school, but one whose importance as a composer of Hebrew narrative seems to have remained everywhere unnoticed. He is not merely a compiler and editor, selecting and shaping materials which lay before him; he is also an original author, and possessed of some striking literary excellences, which appear in every part of his unaided work. It is the main purpose of the following investigation to show, more fully than was possible in my former treatise,¹ the extent and the nature of the Chronicler's independent contributions to the "post-exilic" history of Israel.

As I have already pointed out, and as will appear still more fully in the sequel, the Chronicler's great task was to establish the supreme authority of the Jerusalem cultus, in all its details (see this *Journal*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 223-26). It is evident that this authority had been sharply challenged, as, indeed, was quite inevitable. So long as the Hebrews were all, or mostly, settled in Palestine, and with a man of David's line occupying the throne in Jerusalem, there could be no question as to the center of the Israelite religion; but when, on the contrary, the Hebrew state was overthrown, and the people scattered abroad, while new Jewish temples were gaining in influence, the questions of authority and centralization became burning ones. Just as one and another of the great branches of the Christian church have striven, with varying success, to show the apostolic origin of their institutions, mainly to silence their opponents, so the Jews of the

¹ *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah*, 1896. The main conclusions there stated, though new and thus far only partially accepted by Old Testament scholars, are all, as I believe, quite certain.

Second Temple found themselves called upon to prove, if they could, that they in distinction from their brethren elsewhere were the real successors and heirs of David and Solomon, and that their local traditions of the temple administration and worship were really derived from Moses and Aaron.

Against the claims of the exclusive party in Jerusalem stood some formidable obstacles. Of these, the most important by far was the tradition, which had grown up, that Jerusalem and Judea were not only completely depopulated by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, but that they remained thus vacant for a long time. Thus especially II Kings 24:14 ff.; 25:8-12, 26; Jer. 25:11 f.; 29:10, etc. This tradition—due chiefly to a misunderstanding of Haggai and Zechariah—was harmless at first; but when the new Israelite seat of worship was established at Shechem, a most effective weapon was put into the hands of this rival sect. The Samaritans could claim, and with much apparent right on their side, that *they themselves* were the rightful heirs and the true church. Jerusalem had had its long and glorious day, and would always remain the most sacred of cities to the Hebrew; but might not the center of gravity of Israel, and especially the principal seat of the cultus, now return northward? The contest of the Jews with the Samaritans was really a life and death struggle, and the latter possessed some important external advantages at the start. There were doubtless also facts connected with the religious tradition, to which they could appeal, and which could not easily be gainsaid. They could probably prove, in a great many instances, that not only individuals of priestly rank, but also whole priestly families, had migrated into the North-Israelite territory when Jerusalem was destroyed, and that their descendants were now pillars of the Samaritan church. These were sons of Aaron, and with them were Levites; were there any in Jerusalem who could show a clearer title? Probably not, until the Chronicler wrote his history, carrying back through the past centuries the genealogy of the families who in his day constituted the loyal Jewish church in Jerusalem and the neighboring towns, and excluding all others from legitimacy.

Nor was it merely with the Samaritans and other rivals in

view that this work was undertaken. The Jews had need to justify themselves and their cult in the eyes of the greater world round about them; see above, XXIV, 223, 225. Moreover, the glory of Jerusalem and of David's line was not duly appreciated, even in Judea, especially now that the horizon of the people had been greatly widened. Hence the Chronicler's marked interest in foreign kings, and his frequent attempts to show the wide influence of the Hebrew power. He adds an east-Jordanic list of names at the end of I Chron. 11 (see below); describes David's magnificent army, in 12:23-40; besides incorporating (especially in chaps. 18-20) all the material of this sort from II Samuel. He expands greatly the story of Hiram of Tyre in his relations with Solomon (see below), and makes much of the incident of Josiah and Necho. Further illustration will be given in the sequel. It may be that the occasional accounts of great building operations undertaken in more or less remote regions by kings of Judah originated in this same tendency. And hence, certainly, the large numbers which he so often introduces. He wished his readers, and perhaps especially the youth of his people, to feel the might and splendor of the ancient time, of which the preserved record was so wretchedly meager (see the remarks below. When for instance, he narrates how Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, sacrificed "22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep," we may regard the exaggeration as a small outburst of loyalty on his part. Not even Nebuchadnezzar, or Darius Codomannus, or Alexander the Great, those mightiest of all kings in the popular belief of the Chronicler's time, were able to make offerings on such a scale as this.

An important feature of his undertaking, and one in which he evidently took especial satisfaction, was the celebration of the Levites. In magnifying their office he magnified the ecclesiastical organization in Jerusalem, and at the same time filled what must have seemed to him a serious gap in the written history of Israel as it then existed. Side by side with the priests, these temple officials held a most conspicuous place in the public worship of his time. There was the main body of "Levites" with their prescribed part in the ritual and the service of the temple;

there were also the special Levitical classes of "Singers" and "Porters;"² then, on a lower plane than the Levites, but doing an indispensable work, stood the class of temple servants called the "Nethinim." These all had their minutely regulated duties, and their own privileges and perquisites. The rights and duties of these classes might easily be challenged, however, for throughout the greater part of the history of Israel they were altogether ignored. The Mosaic and Aaronic institutions as described in the Pentateuch do indeed include the Levites, but in the subsequent history, from Joshua to the end of II Kings, they are rarely mentioned. The Singers, Porters, and Nethinim received no specific mention whatever, either in the Pentateuch or in the other writings. The Chronicler believed that the ritual in which he himself had an active part was the true Mosaic ritual; but he could not have proved, from the Hebrew historical writings, that it had been perpetuated in actual usage through the time of the kingdom. Moreover, the Chronicler was probably himself one of the temple Singers (as modern scholars have recognized), and was proud of the office and of his Levitical brethren. He took pleasure in doing them this tardy justice, showing in extended narrative the part which (as he would have said) they *must have played* in the history of the true Israel. But what he planned, as has already been said, was not merely a "history of the Levites;" it was a history which was designed to set the whole Jerusalem church on its feet, once for all.

He took his starting-point, as a matter of course, in the institutions of his own day. The Levitical organization as it then existed; the various duties and prerogatives of the clergy; the geographical distribution of "Israel and the priests and the Levites" in their cities and villages, as it was at that time; the details of the worship in the temple; all these things he carried back into the beginnings of Hebrew history, incorporating them there and in the record of every subsequent period. He of course made use of the already existing narrative, retaining every part of it which could be made to serve his very definite purpose. The institutions of the Jewish church were thus given a leading place

² On the relation of these to the Levites, see below.

—their rightful place, any zealous Jew would have said—in the stories of David and Solomon, of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah and Josiah, as well as in Nehemiah's personal narrative.

He proceeded in a similar manner in compiling the genealogical tables, which, together with the story of the Return from the Exile, constituted the most important part of his work. The already existing lists, found in the Pentateuch and the Historical Books, he used wherever they seemed desirable. But in very many of the names which he repeats over and over again, especially in the post-exilic part of his history, we may be sure that we have the names of his own companions and friends, the most zealously "orthodox" of the third century B. C. These, whether priests or temple-servants or laymen, constituted the inner circle of the Jewish church of his time; and they, like their cultus, were here legitimated. When he had finished his work, he had shown that none of the pure stock of Israel, none of the true representatives of the cultus, could be looked for outside the territory of Judah and Benjamin. And he had scattered the names of his like-minded contemporaries (in a rather helter-skelter way, it is true) all through his account of the Restoration; showing that these families were the ones which "returned" with Zerubbabel and Ezra, signed the pledge against foreign marriages and the agreement to support the cultus, built the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah, and helped to dedicate it. Here he took the only possible way of placing orthodox Judaism safely beyond the reach of the Samaritans and of the rest of the **עַם הָאֲרָץ** (which included all the apostates of Israel): *the pure blood and the true worship were transmitted only by way of Babylonia.*

The zeal of the Chronicler for the pure blood of Judah and Benjamin—as well as of the House of Levi—was always, and must of necessity have been, a leading motive in his work. The true stock of Israel must keep itself separate from "the heathen of the land." Inter-marriage with these foreigners was unlawful. The northern Israelites, whose center was now at Shechem, had intermarried to some extent—and perhaps to a very considerable extent—with the Gentiles who lived near them. The Samaritan church, which was probably founded only a short

time before the Chronicler wrote, came into being partly as a result of the runaway marriage of a Jewish priest with the daughter of an outsider.³ So the Chronicler and those of his school lost no opportunity of asserting that the Samaritans were a heterogeneous mob of heathen, recruited from many lands. The Chronicler's aversion to the marriage of Hebrews with foreigners shows itself in many places. Perhaps the most striking single instance is found in the passage II Chron. 24:26, which is his own improved version of II Kings 12:21. The story of the assassination of King Joash of Judah is being told, and in the older account the names of those who conspired against him are given as "Jozakar the son of שַׁמְעָה, and Jehozabad the son of שִׁמְרִי." The two names here printed in Hebrew characters are both masculine, beyond much doubt; but the final ך of the former one looked to the Chronicler like the feminine ending, and this suggested to him his opportunity. In the story as he tells it, the one of the two conspirators (impious wretches in his eyes, even though the king had deserved his fate) was "the son of שַׁמְעָה *the Ammonitess*," and the other was "the son of שִׁמְרִי *the Moabitess*." The alteration here made is one of the most instructive in all the Chronicler's work.

These are the principal aims, or rather, the principal features of the one great aim, of his book. Viewed according to our modern standards of judgment, this was an unlawful manufacture of history. From his own point of view, and that of his contemporaries, his purpose was a laudable one, and the method employed by no means illegitimate. All those who understood what he had done, but were not actually sharers in his intent, would, of course, simply ignore his version of the history. It does indeed seem for a long time to have received very little notice.

II. THE CHRONICLER AS EDITOR

It is fortunate that we possess the most of the sources used by the Chronicler in constructing his own version of the history of

³As I have already remarked (above, p. 239), it may well be that the Sanaballat of the Samaritan schism—in whatever time we suppose him to have lived—was a man of Hebrew origin. In that case, we must suppose that he was regarded as an apostate by the Jews of Jerusalem, for some good reason.

Israel; we are thus enabled to see with the utmost clearness his method of using them.

1. *In the Books of Chronicles*

The Chronicler's proceeding is, of course, an eclectic one. He does not, as a rule, record the events of the history for their own sake, but merely for the aid which they give to his immediate purpose. He is not rewriting the whole history of Judah from the standpoint of his own religious interest; he is rewriting only that amount of the history which seems to him desirable.

Some considerable passages to which he can have had no objection in themselves are either greatly abridged or omitted altogether. In other words, it was not an object of his to incorporate *all* of the records of Judah which he himself would have regarded as both authentic and unobjectionable; what he attempted to do was to make a new edition, abridged in many places and freely expanded in many others. It is certain that he did not mean to supplant the books of Samuel and Kings; he intended rather to supplement them. In the nature of the case, the chief significance of his undertaking lay in the material which he himself composed and added. The older narrative furnished the foundation and the lower framework, into and upon which he could build the new structure which (in his view) was so sorely needed. But both parts were necessary, the old as well as the new, and the former must have its due proportion. It was evident, for instance, that the text of Kings (namely, in the portions relating to Judah) could not be greatly abridged without defeating the end for which the new edition was made.

Wherever it is practicable, the Chronicler reproduces his source with little or no change. Thus, in I Chron. 10:1—11:47, the text of I Sam. 31 and II Sam. 23:8–39 is given in very nearly its original wording.⁴ Of the two chapters thus reproduced, the one narrates the death of Saul and the accession of David to the throne,

⁴ It is of course to be borne in mind that the text of Gen.-Sam.-Kings which lay before the Chronicler differed somewhat from ours. The most of the many insignificant variations which we see are doubtless due to his source rather than to his own hand.

and was therefore important for the Chronicler's purpose.⁵ The other gives a catalogue of David's most renowned warriors, and some of the anecdotes told of them. The reason why the Chronicler includes this (and adds to it also, in the next chapter especially) is not merely "his fondness for lists," it is rather because of the character of his book, as a repertorium of such official statistics as these. If the lists of the later history were to make the desired impression, those of the early times must be given in sufficient number and fulness. He has, indeed, made his own contribution to these two passages, in the shape of characteristic additions. These will be noticed below. Many other chapters, or long passages, from Samuel and Kings are transferred bodily in this same way. Thus, for example, I Chron. 17:1—20:8, in which we have a generally faithful transcript of II Sam., chaps. 7, 8, and 10; II Chron. 6:1—39 (=I Kings 8:12—50); 9:1—11:4 (=I Kings 10:1—48; 11:41—43; 12:1—24). II Chron. 18:3—34 is an almost exact replica of I Kings 22:4—35. Similarly, 33:1—9 is a transcript of II Kings 21:1—9, and II Chron. 34:15—31 of II Kings 22:8—23:3, and there are numerous other cases of the sort. The passages thus transcribed include by far the greater part of the material derived by the Chronicler from Gen.-Sam.-Kings. Of them in general may be said that which is said by Benzinger of II Chron., chap. 23 (*Comm.*, p. 111): "Soviel als möglich ist vom Text . . . wörtlich geblieben." The Chronicler gives himself no unnecessary labor. Among the passages of the older history which he could use for his purpose, there were many which gave him no occasion to introduce his own special properties, since they offered no point of direct contact with the Jewish church and its institutions or its personnel. Such, for example, were I Chron., chaps. 10, 18, 19, II Chron. 9, 10, 18, among those which have been mentioned. Other passages, again, needed no revision since they were already con-

⁵ The Chronicler must have had a keen personal interest in the many other narratives of David; the stories of his youth and his exploits; his friendship for Jonathan; his flight from Saul, and his magnanimity when he had the king in his power; and so on. But he could not repeat them here; they fell quite outside the scheme of his book, which follows everywhere its one definite aim, and is constructed with considerable attention to proportion. It is often said that the Chronicler omitted the story of Bathsheba because of its detriment to the character of David; but the fact is, it had no relation to his main purpose, and could not well have been included.

ceived in the Chronicler's own spirit. Such were I Chron., chap. 17; II Chron., chaps., 6, 33:1-9; 34:15-31; as well as any lists of names which could give real or apparent support to the claim of the Jews in Jerusalem.

On the other hand, as is well known, there are many cases in which the Chronicler, while using material from his older sources, makes more or less extensive alterations on his own authority. These alterations include, first, *minor insertions and additions*, as well as occasional omissions. For example, in I Chron. 3:9 we have a simple editorial expansion (cf. 2:4), and in 4:33 he adds his favorite word **הַחִיָּה**. In II Chron. 34:30 he inserts "and the Levites," and such insertions as this are of course very often necessary from his point of view. He very frequently interpolates a verse or two in the midst of the matter which he is transcribing. Thus, at the end of the story of Saul's death he appends a remark of his own (I Chron. 10:13 f.) designed to show more clearly the significance of the events narrated. In the account of the bringing of the ark into the temple, II Chron., chap. 5, he inserts a characteristic passage, vss. 11-13, showing what an important part in the service was played by the Levitical musicians. In 7:6 the same thing takes place, and there are many other instances of the kind. In I Chron. 11:41-47 we have an addition of another sort, but equally characteristic. The source, II Sam. 23:24-39, had just given a list of the mighty men of David's armies, reproduced in I Chron. 11:26-41a. The Chronicler, one of whose chief concerns is the extension of Jerusalem's sphere of influence, even into foreign lands (see above), seizes the opportunity to add the names of a number of men from the country east of the Jordan; why should this part of the Israelite territory be left out? The names are, of course, invented for the occasion; there is no more reason for supposing a written source here than there is in the case of the other insertions just described. There are still other pet interests of his, of lesser importance, out of regard to which he has occasionally inserted verses or longer passages. Thus, his fondness for mention of the homage paid by foreign kings and nations to Jerusalem and the house of David (see above) leads him to make such interpolations as II Chron.

9:26⁶ and I Chron. 14:17. Other similar cases are II Chron. 26:7f. and 27:5 f. He is always greatly interested in building operations, and especially in the buildings and the topography of Jerusalem. Hence the isolated statements concerning these things which he occasionally throws in for the purpose of giving fresh interest to his narrative. In II Chron. 26:6-10, after transcribing the few things which are said of King Uzziah in II Kings 15:1-3, he proceeds to describe in detail the king's greatness.⁷ Vs. 6 narrates: "He broke down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Yabneh, and the wall of Ashdod; and he built fortresses⁸ in Ashdod and (elsewhere) in Philistia." And vs. 9 proceeds: "Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the angle of the wall, and fortified them. ¹⁰And he built towers in the wilderness," etc. In the following chapter, in telling the story of Jotham, similar notices are introduced. To 27:3a, which is taken from II Kings 15:35, "He built the upper gate of the house of Yahwè," the Chronicler adds: "and on the wall of the Ophel he built much. ⁴Moreover he built cities in the hill country of Judah, and on the wooded heights he built fortresses and towers." Compare further 33:14, where it is said of King Manasseh: "He built an outer wall to the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, up to the entrance to the fish gate; and he compassed about the Ophel, and raised it to a very great height." Similarly in 32:30 it is said of Hezekiah: "He stopped the upper exit of the waters of Gihon, and brought them down on the west side of the city of David," in which we have merely the Chronicler's more vivid version of II Kings 20:20. Still another case of the same sort is in 36:8, in the passage which has been accidentally lost from our Hebrew but is preserved in Theodotion's Greek (as already shown): "So

⁶ In vs. 23 of this chapter, on the other hand, it is probable that he found the word מלכר, "kings," in the text of I Kings 10:24 which lay before him. Observe the witness of the Greek and the Syriac, as well as that of the following verse.

⁷ According to his custom, in order to draw sharp contrast with the passage which follows, vss. 16-20. This whole chapter affords one of the best illustrations of his qualities as a story-teller (see below).

⁸ So apparently, the word ערים must be interpreted here, as occasionally elsewhere. The text of the verse seems to be sound.

Jehoiakim slept with his fathers" (these words being taken from II Kings 24:6), "and was buried in the garden of Uzza with his fathers;" cf. II Kings 21:18, 26. In no one of these statements is there anything to make it probable that the Chronicler had any other source than his imagination. He understood the great value of "local color" for enlivening historical narrative, and here also he followed his usual custom of projecting into the past the things (in this case topographical features) which he saw with his own eyes. Some other minor additions to the text made by him in order to give greater liveliness to the narrative will be noticed below.⁹

Secondly, *thoroughgoing alterations*. The passages of this nature are, as we should expect, comparatively few in number and brief in extent. They are of three kinds. The first case is where thorough revision is undertaken in the interest of the Chronicler's tendency; a thing which would very rarely be necessary, since ordinarily the unsatisfactory material could either be omitted or else set right by the insertion of a word or a verse here and there. The second case is that of abridgment, where material not especially valuable to the Chronicler is condensed. This, again, is a rare occurrence. The third is where the Chronicler composes freely a passage of considerable length on the basis of a few words contained in the original source. There are not many instances of this nature.

The most important illustrations of the first case have often been described at length, so it is not necessary to do more than mention them here. The chief instance is the story of the coronation of the boy-king Josiah, in II Chron. 22:10—23:21. The original account, given in II Kings, chap. 11, is here rewritten in order to make it correspond to the recognized usage of the third

⁹Some apparent instances of arbitrary alteration by the Chronicler are probably not such in reality. In II Chron. 13:2 (cf. 11:20!), for example, it is presumably the text which is at fault, and the most probable supposition is that a scribe accidentally omitted one whole line of his copy. From the analogy of numerous other passages, and especially with the aid of I Kings 15:8, 10 (where "Absalom" is plainly a mistake caused by vs. 2), 13, we may restore with confidence as follows: **וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ [מַעַכָּה בַת אֲבִשְׁלוֹם. וַיִּקַּח לוֹ** **אִשָּׁה אֵת] מַעַכָּה בַת אֲוִירָאֵל מִן גִּבְעָה.** "And his mother's name was *Maacah the daughter of Absalom*. And he took to wife (cf. 11:18, etc.) *Maacah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah*." The text of I Kings 15:10 which lay before the Chronicler had preserved the correct reading.

century B. C. The Levites, singers, and porters, and the machinery of the later temple service, are now introduced. It was possible to do this without omitting more than a very little of the original narrative; accordingly, the changes made by the Chronicler consist chiefly in additions, as may be seen in Kittel's polychrome *Chronicles*.¹⁰ The passage which almost immediately follows, 24:4-14, shows a different problem and therefore a different mode of procedure. The older account, II Kings 12:5-17, in the most of its essential features runs directly contrary to the views and customs of the Chronicler's day, in a very disturbing manner.¹¹ The whole passage might have been simply omitted by the Chronicler; but it offered some very interesting suggestions, and, what is more, the impression given by the book of Kings really needed to be "corrected." This was not a case where a few omissions, or any number of additions, would be of any use; the only possible way of dealing with the passage was to rewrite it thoroughly, giving it a new form, *and therefore a new meaning*, in practically every verse. The Chronicler would never change the form extensively where the meaning remained unchanged. The only cause for wonder here is, that he has managed to retain so much (about three dozen words) of the original.¹² This is the only instance of just this nature. Another good example of the Chronicler's free treatment of his material in the interest of his greater purpose is found in his account of the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem. The first part of the story, I Chron. 13:6-14, can be left as it was in II Sam. 6:2-11, though a special introduction to it has to be written. But in the latter part, 15:25-28, the text of II Sam. 6:12-15 requires considerable revision to bring it into accordance with the Levitical ritual. I Chron. 21:1-

¹⁰The inexperienced reader, however, must be warned against Kittel's polychrome edition, as an unsafe guide. His overlining of words and passages is usually misleading, and so also is his use of colors, other than the light red which marks passages taken from Genesis, Samuel, and Kings.

¹¹See, for example, Kittel's *Comm.*, p. 149, where the various points of difficulty are mentioned in detail.

¹²Benzinger, *Comm.*, p. 113, makes the following very superficial comment on this passage: "Im Unterschied von der Athaljageschichte zeigt sich diese Erzählung auch in der Form unabhängig von Reg; der Text von Reg ist hier gar nicht benutzt, vielmehr haben wir eine ganz selbständige Erzählung vor uns. Das ist nicht die Arbeitsweise von Chr [!], sondern er hat die Geschichte so schon in seiner Quelle vorgefunden." As though an unusual case might not necessitate an unusual method.

30, again, is a most instructive example of free editing. It is the narrative of David's sin in numbering the people, and his purchase of the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. The original story, II Sam. 24:1-25, was unobjectionable so far as it went, and the Chronicler retains the greater part of it. But to his mind it fell short of doing justice to the theme. This was the time when King David was led to choose the spot on which the temple was afterward built, and therefore one of the most momentous occasions in all the history of Jerusalem. The Chronicler's imagination was aroused, and he embellishes the tale in characteristic manner. When it leaves his hands, it has become more impressive; the scenes are more dramatic, and the incidents more striking; and in numerous places the language has been altered in such a way as to increase the interest of the tale.¹³ David sees the destroying angel in the heavens with his drawn sword stretched over Jerusalem; Ornan also sees the angel, while his four sons (unknown to the original narrative) hide themselves in terror; and so on. Every feature of this embellishment is in the Chronicler's own unmistakable manner. The story of Josiah's reforms, told in II Chron., chap. 34, is altered from the account in Kings in much the same way as the story of the coronation of Joash in chap. 23. The older narrative, II Kings 22:1—23:20, is improved upon by the introduction of the Levites, as well as the singers and porters. The long account of the removal of the abominations from the land, told in II Kings 23:4-20, is condensed into four verses (4-7), and transposed in order to show that the king instituted these reforms before the finding of the book of the law. The wording of the narrative in Kings is retained as far as possible.

The extensive alterations of the second class, namely abridgments, are fewer in number. In some cases, where the material of the older history was extended over more space than the Chronicler could well give to it, he presents a mere summary. One example of this proceeding has just been given, namely II Chron. 34:4-7, which is a condensation of the account of Josiah's

¹³The Chronicler is not long-winded, he is usually concise; and in a good many places he shows that he has the power of suggesting a scene with sufficient clearness by the use of half a dozen words, where most authors would need as many as sentences.

reforms given in II Kings 23:4-20. Another case is II Chron. 22:7-9, where matter relating chiefly to the Northern Kingdom—and therefore not wanted—has been reduced to the smallest possible compass, giving only a bare statement of the events which concerned the king of Judah. Verse 7 summarizes II Kings 9:1-26, vs. 8 is the abridgment of II Kings 10:11-14, and vs. 9 is that of II Kings 9:27 f. In this case it seems plain that the Chronicler is abridging the narrative of Kings from memory, as indeed we might expect that he would.¹⁴ Still another example is the story of Sennacherib and Hezekiah, as told in II Chron. 32:1-23. Here again the Chronicler abridges from memory. The original narrative, II Kings 18:13-19:37,¹⁵ was much too extended for his purpose, and contained many things which he can have had no wish to reproduce. On the other hand, the reign of Hezekiah was a very important one in his scheme of the history, and the events of this siege, which were very well known, could not be passed over altogether. So he tells the story briefly in his own words, making it over entirely, retaining neither the form nor the substance of the older narrative. This again is an altogether unusual case, though it presents no difficulty.

The following are instances of the third class, where the Chronicler improvises at some length on a brief theme provided by his source. The short story of Josiah and Necho of Egypt, told in II Chron. 35:20-24, is typical of the cases in which the Chronicler builds up an edifying tale of his own on the basis of a few words in the older history. In the first place, the reason of the king's fate is made plain: he had disobeyed the command of God. Then the details of the brief story show the writer's passion for the picturesque, and the extreme vividness with which he himself saw, in imagination, the things which he merely sug-

¹⁴ Kittel, *Comm.*, p. 145, and Benzinger, *Comm.*, pp. 110 f., are wrong in thinking that the narrative in Chron. contradicts that in Kings. "Samaria" in 22:9 is the *province*, just as in II Chron. 25:13, Ezr. 4:10 (see my note on that passage, *loc. cit.*, pp. 258 f.), Neh. 3:34, etc., not the *city*. There is no discrepancy whatever between the two accounts. It is neither said nor even implied in Chron. that the events of vs. 8 were chronologically subsequent to those of vs. 7; on the contrary, vs. 7 is intended as the general summary of the whole matter. Nor is it said (as Benzinger asserts) that Ahaziah was buried in Samaria(!).

¹⁵ The Chronicler had before him also Isaiah 36-39, as is evident from II Chron. 32:32 (where we must read לְכָל, as is shown both by the context and also by the witness of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions). In all probability, the book of Isaiah which he had was of the same extent and form as our own.

gests to his readers. In this case, he has introduced features of another narrative which ranks among the most dramatic in the books of Kings, namely the story of the death of Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead, I Kings 22: 29-38. The Chronicler had incorporated it in his own history, II Chron. 18: 28-34; and it seems to have been again suggested to him here by the statement regarding Josiah, in II Kings 23: 30, that the dying king was brought back from the battlefield to Jerusalem in his chariot. This brought the whole scene before his eyes, and he sketched it afresh. The incident of the disguise¹⁶ would suit here very well, as it would show why the king's attendants were permitted to take him away from the field of battle. As in the former instance, the king was slain by random arrows, shot by archers who did not know his rank. The fact that the story of Ahab was in the Chronicler's mind is shown further by one striking verbal reminiscence, the phrase **בִּי הַהִלִּיתִי**, whose verb occurs only in these two passages. A much more prominent instance belonging to this class is furnished by II Chron., chaps. 2 and 3, the account of the building of Solomon's temple. The motive for editorial alteration here was of course the same as that which we saw at work in I Chron. 21; the older narrative was too meager for the theme. In that instance, a few additions here and there sufficed; in the case now before us, the Chronicler took the history into his own hands, building up two

¹⁶The word **הַתְּחַפֵּשׂ** in 35: 23 has often been challenged, partly because the "disguise" comes so unexpectedly, and partly because the versions do not give the usual equivalent of this word. The Greek of Theodotion renders as though **הַתְּחַזֵּק** stood in the text. I Esdr. 1: 26 (*ἐπιχειρεῖ*) and the Vulgate of Chron. (*praeparavit*) render **הַתְּחַפֵּשׂ**, but with an attempt to keep near to the usual root-meaning of **הַפֵּשׂ**, "seek." The Syriac is ambiguous—very likely led astray by the Greek, as so often happens—but certainly did *not* have **הַתְּחַזֵּק**. The massoretic reading is undoubtedly right, and in all likelihood it is the reading which lay before every one of the translators named, even Theodotion; though in this last case the Hebrew may have been foolishly corrected.

Verse 21 has given the commentators unnecessary trouble, for the text is perfectly sound. The sentence: **לֹא עֲנִידָא אֶתְּהָ הַיּוֹם כִּי אֵל בֵּית מַלְחַמְתִּי** must be rendered: "Not against thee (am I coming) today, but to the country with which I am at war." **בֵּית מַלְחַמְתִּי** = **دَارُ حَرْبِي**. The omission of the Hebrew equivalent of the words in parenthesis is nothing unusual in Chron.; see Driver's list of the Chronicler's usages, no. 27. Theodotion probably rendered freely, but his Hebrew text may have been corrupt. I Esdr. and Jerome try to make **מַלְחַמְתִּי** the subject of the sentence, and then each attempts in his own fashion to solve the resulting difficulty. (The "critical" apparatus in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* suggests that the Vulgate read **בֵּית אֶחָד**, which in turn might have been a corruption of **בֵּית אֶשְׁרָי**! Further, we are directed by this same apparatus to read **אֶתְּהָ** in place of the pronoun **אֵתְּהָ**. But even the Chronicler himself would not have perpetrated such curious Hebrew as this.)

new chapters on the basis of materials contained in I Kings, chaps. 5 ff. Especially characteristic is the way in which the correspondence between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre is expanded (cf. this *Journal*, XXIV, p. 216). A very good illustration of the Chronicler's literary skill is his transposition of the first mention of Hiram (or Hiram),¹⁷ the Phoenician craftsman, from the account of the actual building of the temple (I Kings 7:13 f.) to the letter written by the Tyrian king, II Chron. 2:12 f. Aside from these examples taken from the Chronicler's narrative, there are others, equally instructive, which show how freely he could deal with the statistics which came under his hand; using what he needed, and manufacturing what he pleased, always with his eye fixed either on the actual circumstances and regulations of the time in which he lived, or else on certain ideal conditions suggested by those existing in his own day. Thus, in I Chron. 27:2-15 he takes names which are given in II Sam., chap. 23, and builds about them in characteristic fashion. What he aimed to establish here was the regular monthly succession of these twelve great captains, each with his twenty-four thousand men (the Chronicler is especially fond of multiples of twelve). Another example of the same sort is I Chron. 6:46-48 (61-63), which is a free composition by the Chronicler on the basis of material in Joshua 21:5-7.

This will suffice for a description of the Chronicler's editorial proceedings in the first part of his history, from Adam to Nebuchadnezzar. As was stated at the outset, he ordinarily transcribes his source practically unaltered, selecting the chapters which he needs, and transferring them in solid blocks with substantially the original wording. It remains to ask whether the edited portions, where the original source is expanded or rewritten, are entirely the work of his own hand, or partly that of

¹⁷ The Chronicler wrote in every case "Hiram," for both the king and the craftsman. The name of the latter, which has caused great discussion, is found in II Chron. 2:12 (corresponding to I Kings 7:13), 4:11, 16 (= I Kings 7:40, 45). In II Chron. 2:12, **לְחֹרֶם אֲבִי** must be rendered: "Namely Hiram, my trusted counselor;" and in II Chron. 4:16 the translation of the words **חֹרֶם אֲבִיו לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה** must be: "Hiram, the trusted counselor of King Solomon;" for the peculiar construction in this latter case, paralleled several times in the later Hebrew of the Old Testament, and especially in Chron., see König, *Syntax*, pp. 256 f. The Hebrew text (saving the variations Hiram—Hiröm—Hūram) is correct in all of the six passages involved. It is by one of the Chronicler's best literary touches that the man whom he had made King Hiram describe as his own "intimate adviser" is later on styled the "intimate adviser" of King Solomon.

some other editor. It often happens, of course, that definite marks of the Chronicler's presence are not to be found. His peculiarities of style and linguistic usage are strongly marked, it is true, but such peculiarities generally have little opportunity to show themselves in passages which contain merely a refashioning—even a thorough refashioning—of older material. Nevertheless, the purely linguistic evidence of his handiwork is satisfactory; a tell-tale word or construction appears every now and then, especially in the verses which have been interpolated by him. But far more important than any testimony of words and phrases is the evidence of the editorial purpose. We have before us a man in a definite historical situation, with a great problem confronting him which we can at least partially understand. We know something of the surroundings in which he lived, and a little concerning his personal sympathies and prejudices. He had before him our Old Testament historical books, and wished to use them as a foundation for a new history of his own. He preferred to make his extracts in the easiest way—by mere transcription—as a general rule; but where alteration was necessary or desirable for his purposes, he was ready to take any liberty with his sources (as every Old Testament scholar recognizes in such cases as the story of David bringing back the ark, the account of the coronation of Joash, the frequent substitution of very large numbers, and so on). The question is, then, whether this editor of whom we know can reasonably be supposed to have done all the editing and expanding of Gen.-Sam.-Kings which we see before us in the books of Chronicles. And the answer is plain. There is no internal evidence, anywhere, of an intermediate source between our Old Testament books and the Chronicler. On the contrary, every minor or major alteration which appears in I and II Chron. finds its obvious explanation in the Chronicler's aims which have already been indicated. There is not even one passage in which his proceeding is hard to understand. As for the "sources"—a long list of them—which he names from time to time (though he nowhere directly claims to have used any of them!), they are a mere show, as will appear presently. He himself, then, is the only editor with whom we have to deal.

Critical Notes

SHORT NOTES ON THE GREEK OLD TESTAMENT

I

GEN. 3:16

Ⲭ καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν (var. τοὺς στεναγμούς) σου; 𐤇𐤒𐤍𐤊; Samar. 𐤇𐤒𐤍𐤊 = 'A (τὰς συλλήψεις σου) ΣΘ (τὰς κησεις σου) 𐤇 (*et conceptus tuos*) 𐤍 (𐤍𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤍) 𐤕 (𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕) Talm Erub 100b (זה צער הציבור) Ibn Ezra; Rashi, however, speaks of childbirth (זה צער הלידה). According to Kittel, Ⲭ = 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 (perhaps = 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤇, comp. the root 𐤕𐤕𐤕, 𐤕𐤕, 𐤕𐤕𐤕). Jer. 4:31, however, leads to another and more plausible identification. There Ⲭ (τοῦ στεναγμοῦ σου) certainly presupposes 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (the *nomen unitatis* to 𐤕𐤕𐤕; for the defective orthography comp. 𐤕𐤕𐤕 I Sam. 4:19), which indeed goes well with 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕, / 𐤕𐤕𐤕. Hence in our passage Ⲭ must have read 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (comp. Syr. 𐤕𐤕𐤕). The 𐤕 was corrupted into 𐤕 (for similar examples comp. ZAW., XXV [1905], 321), and then into 𐤕. Render: *and thy travail*.

II

GEN. 49:21

Ⲭ στέλεχος is neither = 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (Olshausen Kittel) nor 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (Ball), but 𐤕𐤕𐤕, *palm-tree*, comp. Job 29:18 where Ⲭ (ὥσπερ στέλεχος φοίνικος) = 𐤕𐤕𐤕 / 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (𐤕𐤕𐤕 = 𐤕𐤕𐤕 / 𐤕𐤕), and Si. 50:12 (Ⲭ στελέχη φοινίκων / 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (𐤕𐤕𐤕); comp. also JQR., XI (1899), 688. Read accordingly 𐤕𐤕𐤕 (comp. 𐤕𐤕𐤕) and interpret *irriguus* with Jerome, comp. Talmudic 𐤕𐤕𐤕. For 𐤕𐤕𐤕 Ⲭ has ἐν τῷ γεν(ν)ήματι; perhaps we should read 𐤕𐤕𐤕 plur. of 𐤕𐤕𐤕 = Arab. 𐤕𐤕𐤕 *dates*. Render:

Naphtali is a well-watered (or luxurious) palm,
That yieldeth comely fruit.

MAX L. MARGOLIS

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THE ORIGIN OF THE WORSHIP OF YAHWE

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According to the biblical account, the name Yahwe, or Yahu, had its origin in the vision of Moses at the burning bush. He asked to be told who it was that was sending him on this momentous errand, that he might tell the people, and he was told that Ehyeh, 'I am,' was his name, which, put into the third person, is Yahwe, 'He is.' This was a sufficiently satisfactory derivation of the name and account of its origin, for those to whom the written account of Exodus was held sacred; but it has not been regarded as final by scholars. Indeed, they have observed not only that Yahwe is spoken of previously to this vision, but that proper names anterior to this, as that of the mother of Moses, are found with the name of Yahwe. To be sure that fact is not serious, for the critical view, since the names may not be historical, or might have been changed by the writer, just as Ishbaal has become Ishbosheth. It is one of the problems of students of Hebrew history to discover what was the origin of the sole worship of Yahwe.

For the appearance of a true monotheism in Palestine, among a people not of the highest culture, is one of the most remarkable, if not inexplicable facts in human history, the most tremendous for its influence on religious history. If we cannot accept the

assumption that from the creation of Adam there had been a succession of worshipers of pure monotheism, we must seek the religious source out of which came the worship of Yahwe, first as among other gods, then as a henotheistic deity, and finally as the God of monotheism ruling the universe.

In a recent essay on evolution of monotheism, the late Professor Baentsch, of Jena, has argued that inasmuch as the religions of Egypt and Babylonia were stellar religions, it was impossible that monotheism should originate with them, for were one to say, "The sun is the one God," one would reply, "Why the sun alone? Why not also the moon?" But the original worship of Palestine or Syria, he says, was not stellar, but a sort of Baal-worship which more readily developed into the recognition of one God, at least for one nation. But this is hardly a true statement of fact. The identification of the Babylonian gods with the planets was a later philosophy of the priests; and even the worship of the sun and the moon does not seem to be any older than, if as old as, the worship of Anu, god of the sky, or Bêl-Ilil, god of the earth, and Ea, god of the waters. It is true that the worship of the sun under various names, and of the moon, was very early, but no earlier than that of Bêl or Ningirsu, or perhaps, Adad, and of one or two other goddesses who were later identified with Venus, even as Marduk was identified with the planet Jupiter. It would not seem any more difficult or unlikely for monotheism to originate out of these religions than in Palestine. Indeed, it did originate in Egypt, somewhat crudely under the Heretic King; and we have the approach to it in the worship in Assyria of Ashur, the solar disk, and in the worship of Ahura-Mazda under the prophet Zoroaster.

The present and most prevalent theory of the origin of the Yahwe worship is that which accepts the kernel of the biblical story, and concludes that Yahwe was the tribal god of the Hebrews in the desert, and that they found the worship of Yahwe among the Midianites or, more definitely, the Kenites, with whom Moses sojourned before the Exodus. The Kenites are supposed to have had their home in the neighborhood of Sinai, a special seat of Yahwe. We are also told that the Rechabites, who helped Jehu in

his zeal for Yahwe, were a nomad tribe of the Kenites. This is the substance of the evidence that the Kenites worshiped Yahwe, and that the Hebrews, while wandering in the desert, learned the Yahwe worship. It may be confessed that it is a very shadowy kind of evidence, for we have not a particle of historical or epigraphic evidence that the Kenite or any other Midianite tribelet was a worshiper of Yahwe.

It is now generally admitted that the Hebrews who entered from the desert found closely allied tribes who had long lived on the borders of Canaan, and had never been in Egypt. It is to be presumed that they worshiped the gods of the land; and the stories of the Book of Judges, and particularly that of Micah and his ephod and teraphim and molten images carried to Dan by the Danites, are evidence that the Hebrews of that period worshiped the gods of the land. That there was also the worship of Yahwe, the writer would assure us; but certainly if such was the case, it was not as the one and only god ruling over the world or even over Canaan.

On the face of the historical facts known to us, it would be likely that the worship of Yahwe grew out of that of some one of the deities general to the worship of the region. We are not to think of the time when the Hebrew people emerged into history as a time when tribes or nations were isolated one from another, each with its own god, or gods, having no relation to those of other nations or tribes. It was a time of long and thorough mingling of races and influences, through both trade and war. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show us definitely how thoroughly Palestine was overrun and its civilization and worship modified by, and assimilated to, those of Egypt on the one hand, and of Babylonia and the intervening countries to the north and east, especially of the Hittite empire. What we learn from this source we also learn from the art of the time, as found on occasional bas-reliefs, and on the more numerous seal cylinders with their figures of gods.

The Egyptian religion was never imposed on Syria and Palestine. To be sure there was a temporary military control, but for the most part it came late with the Eighteenth Dynasty, and ended in

the Nineteenth; and while elements were then introduced into the art, such as the frequent use of the *crux ansata*, and occasionally figures of one or more Egyptian gods, and not a few Egyptian scarabs are found in Syria, yet the prevailing influence was not that of the invaders and temporary conquerors, but rather of the more permanent Asiatic neighbors, as we judge from the blending of the art of the period, mostly of cylinder seals, not a few of which have been excavated in the Hauran and elsewhere. And it is just this Hauran region that particularly interests us for the religion of the period at or before the Exodus; for out of the Hauran the Hebrews passed over into Canaan.

For a study of the earliest character of the Yahwe worship we are driven to but a single source, that of the indications of it that remain in the Hebrew literature. We must consider in what figurative way the people had continued to represent to themselves their national God. Some of the ideas and expressions under which they pictured Yahwe to themselves are likely to have come down from a primitive source, while other expressions will have come in later. I regard that pictorial form which we now and then find by which Yahwe is represented with wings, as of a comparatively later period, that is, as having arisen considerably after the Exodus; because such expressions as "under the shadow of thy wings," "healing in his wings," have in view the figure of the winged solar disk. This design was modified from the Egyptian solar disk by the omission of the asps, and did not come into use in Syria until, I think, considerably later than the conquest of Syria by Egypt and the Nineteenth Dynasty. This biblical representation of Yahwe is peculiar and quite apart from others, and is to be dismissed from our discussion.

The following are the more general and special descriptions or attributes of Yahwe which seem to have come down from a primitive source. In the first place, he is a god of the mountains. So he is represented at Sinai and Horeb, and also often elsewhere. Abraham went to Moriah to sacrifice Isaac in the story which relates itself to the killing of the first-born. Elijah goes to Mount Carmel to contend with the priests of Baal, and later flees to Horeb, the Mount of God. The theophanies are related naturally

to mountains. "God came from Teman, the Holy One from Mount Paran." We seem to have the definite statement that such was the view of Yahwe in the story of the defeat of the soldiers of Benhadad by those of Ahab. His advisers explained his defeat to the Syrian king by saying, "Their God is a god of the hills, but he is not a god of the valleys." Historically and figuratively he was a deity of the mountains.

The next point to observe is that he was particularly a god of storms, thunder, and lightning. This relates itself to the mountains which are the scenes of storm. So he appeared to Moses in Sinai, and to Elijah at Horeb. In the earliest bit of Hebrew literature that has come down to us we read:

Yahwe, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, the heavens also dropt,
Yea the clouds dropt water,
The mountains flowed down at the presence of Yahwe,
Even yon Sinai, at the presence of Yahwe, the God of Israel.

In the book of Job, in which the name of Yahwe is avoided, and El Shaddai so often takes its place, the name which we are told was the earlier name of Yahwe, God twice (38:1; 40:6) addresses Job from the whirlwind, even as Elijah was taken up into heaven in a whirlwind; and in 36:26-37 Elihu gives a long description of God as the ruler of lightning, storm, and rain. Indeed, it was the lightning and the tempest, and also the hosts of the Sabeans and Chaldeans, by which the wealth of Job was destroyed. Amos begins his prophecy (1:2): "Yahwe shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the pastures of the shepherds shall moan, and the top of Carmel shall wither." In 4:13 he it is that "formeth the mountains and created the wind," "that maketh the morning darkness and treadeth upon the high places of the earth," a God of both mountain and storm.

Again we have the mountain and the storm in the theophany of Micah 1:3, 4:

Behold the Lord cometh forth out of his place, and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth. And the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the fire, as waters that are poured down a steep place.

Nahum's prophecy begins with a similar theophany:

The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet. He rebuketh the sea and maketh it dry, and drieth up all the rivers; Bashan languisheth and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth. The mountains quake at him and the hills melt; and the earth is upheaved at his presence. Yea, the world and all that dwell therein. . . . His fury is poured out like fire, and the rocks are broken asunder by him (1:3-6).

Habakkuk's theophany (3:3-13) develops the picture of storm, lightning, thunder, and earthquake, when Yahwe went forth to victory, "with the "light of his arrows" and "the shining of his glittering spears," when "fiery bolts went forth at his feet."

And yet it is in the Psalms that we have the most numerous descriptions of Yahwe as God of storm, lightning, and rain. It is sufficient to call attention to Pss. 7:12, 13; 11:6; 18:6-15; 29:3-10; 48:7; 50:3; 65:5-13; 68:7-17, 33; 81:7; 83:15; 93:1-4; 97:3-5; 104:1-13, 32; 107:33-37; 147:15-18. Of these we may specify Ps. 29 which is entirely devoted to a description of thunder as "the voice of Yahwe."

Closely allied to the representation of Yahwe as the God of thunder and storm is that which makes him a fighting God, a God of battles. The lightnings are weapons; they are "arrows" and "glittering spears" with which he confronts his enemies and those of his people. Accordingly one of the most common attributes given to him is that of "God of hosts," that is "God of the armies of Israel," I Sam. 17:45, not of the host of heaven which is **צבא**, not **צבאות**. In the song of Moses, Exod. 15:3 we are told:

Yahwe is a man of war;
Yahwe is his name.

It was by the strong east wind that the waters had been driven away that the children of Israel might cross the Red Sea, and it was the return of Yahwe's wind that overwhelmed the Egyptians.

Thou didst blow with thy wind; the sea covered them;
They sank as lead in the mighty waters—
Who is like unto thee, Yahwe, among the gods? (vs. 10).

Another of the more important indications as to the origin of the worship of Yahwe is to be found in the way he was represented

in art. We are told that when Moses delayed to come down from the mount Aaron made a golden "calf," that is, a young bull עֵלֵל, which represented their god to the people. Then, in some way the bull was the symbol of the god they worshiped. Also when Jereboam separated from the Southern Kingdom, in order to prevent the people from resorting to Jerusalem to worship Yahwe, he set up shrines in Bethel and Dan, and represented Yahwe by golden "calves." Whether the earliest worship at Dan with an image, ephod, and teraphim was with a calf we do not know. But the fact of the worship of the bull at Bethel and Dan is again and again substantiated in the denunciations of the prophets, especially in Hosea and Amos. In Hos. 13:2 we learn that the kissing of the calf was an act of worship. In Hos. 8:5, 6 the "calf of Samaria" is mentioned. It is generally recognized that the bull must have been from the earliest times related to the popular worship; and that the bull-god was supposed to have brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, and the representation by a bull could not have been derived from an Egyptian god, but belonged to an Asianic type of worship. We are not told what was the form of the "graven image and molten image" which, with the ephod and teraphim, were stolen by the Danites from the house of Micah and taken to Dan (Judges, chaps. 18 and 19); but from the fact that Dan was later the seat of worship of the calf it is likely that this was a bull. The 1,700 shekels of gold with which Gideon made an ephod in Ophrah in the land of Manasseh, which became a snare to Gideon and his house," must have gone for an image also, but we are not told what was its nature.

These facts are patent in the story as to the figuration or symbolic worship of Yahwe: He was a god of mountains; he was a god of lightning, thunder, storm, and rain, and so necessarily a god of war, a god of armies who led the Israelites to battle; and he was figured as a bull. These are our data; and it is now our duty to see how these attributes agree with those of any of the gods of the region.

We have no satisfactory figures of an early time of the gods of Phoenicia or Palestine which would sufficiently identify them. In Egyptian monuments Resheph is figured as a Syrian deity. But

we know from a multitude of seals of which a number are known to have come from the Hauran or other neighboring regions, what were the gods worshiped. They are, whatever their names, prin-



FIG. 1.—J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

FIG. 2.—Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, XXVII, 1.

cipally three (and are all seen in the seal cylinder, Fig. 1), a dignified standing deity usually with no weapon, the god to the left in Fig. 1; a more active and militant deity as the one to the right in the same figure; and a goddess, who stands between them. These were worshiped under various names from the Tigris to the Mediterranean, and apparently for many centuries beginning back even of the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, that is, long before the Exodus from Egypt. It is the second militant god whom I would compare with the primitive Yahwe or Yahu, or Yah.

This deity was known under various names, but is the same under whatever name. He is Adad or Addu, or Ramman or Rimmon, under the Babylonians, Assyrians, and in Damascus.



FIG. 3.—Bibliothèque Nationale.



FIG. 4.—J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

He is Teshub among the Hittites and kindred peoples, and he was the Resheph of Hamath. Whether he was one or more of the local Baals, or whether he was Moloch is by no means certain. He was also identified for his militant character, with the Egyptian Set or Sutekh.

It has been said that Yahwe is described as god of mountains, as the god of thunder, lightning, rain, and storm, and so a fighting deity; and that as an idol he was represented by the bull. These characteristics unite in Ramman-Adad-Teshub and in no other deity.

In the first place he is the god of the mountains. So he is characteristically represented in Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. He stands or walks on mountains as his regular home. In the language of Micah, he "treads on the high places of the earth." This does not resemble the cases in which in early Babylonian art we see the rising sun Shamash coming out of the gates of the east and stepping on a mountain, or lifting himself up between two mountains by his hands, to indicate the rising of the sun, for they are Adad's



FIG. 5.—J. Pierpont Morgan Library.



FIG. 6.—British Museum.

regular abode, as Olympus was the abode of the Hellenic deities, and particularly of Zeus, the god who wields the thunderbolt, and who is most closely related to Adad-Ramman.

Adad-Ramman also was the god of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain. This appears frequently in the Babylonian inscriptions, for he is a western god imported into Babylonia at an early period. As a single example we may refer to the curse on the boundary stones asked for from him, praying that the harvests of any violator may be washed away. The derivation of Ramman is supposed to be from *ramâmu*, to bellow, to thunder, and we find such expressions as that of "Ramman thundered in the heavens." In a tablet giving the titles of the gods we have the following titles of Adad: "God of clouds; god of the storm cloud; god of earthquake (?); god of thunder; god of lightning; god of inundation; god of rain; god of storm; god of the Deluge." The latter, *abûbu* is the great Deluge, which we learn from Genesis

was brought upon the earth by Yahwe. We also learn that under the names Sumukan, Martu, and Amurru, Adad was recognized as "god of lightning" and "god of mountains" (B. M., *Cuneiform Texts*, Part XXIV, pp. 7, 8). In Babylonian art he is represented as carrying a thunderbolt (see Figs. 5, 6), and not infrequently the bident or trident thunderbolt appears alone as his emblem (Fig. 9), and, occasionally, is placed above his ashera. In the Syro-Hittite art the thunderbolt is not known, but various other weapons appear, as in the biblical descriptions of Yahwe. So in Figs. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8.

Equally, and naturally, he is a god of war. The thunderbolt is itself a weapon, and Adad carries the weapons, the bow and the



FIG. 7.—Berlin Museum.



FIG. 8.—J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

club and the ax. He is in the act of war in Fig. 3, swinging a foe by the hair of his head.

There remains to be considered the bull which was the animal emblem of Yahwe. But the bull is the special animal belonging to Adad. When Adad is represented in his most complete form, as in Fig. 4, he stands on mountains, in one hand he lifts a weapon over his head and carries in the other hand a club, ax, serpent, or other weapon, and in the same hand holds a cord attached to a ring in the nose of bull. In a multitude of cases of Babylonian seals we have the thunderbolt and the bull (Figs. 5, 6), but in the case of the Syro-Hittite seals other weapons, with the bull, as in Figs. 4, 7, 8. Nor is the bull omitted in the inscriptions as the animal sacred to Adad. On the kudurru of Nazimaruttash, col. iv, 16, "the mighty bull of Adad" is appealed to. The reason why the bull belongs to him is plain; as he needs the zigzag weapon for lightning, so he needs the bull to provide him with

the bellowing of the thunder. When the exigency of art requires the omission of the figure of the god, we may have the figure of the bull with the thunderbolt above it, thus suggesting both



FIG. 9.—Metropolitan Museum.



FIG. 10.—J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

lightning and thunder, or the thunderbolt alone, as in Fig. 9. It was as the god of thunder that the Hebrews used the familiar representation of the bull, which was well known to every inhabitant of Palestine and all the region as far as Persia and Elam at the time of the emergence of the Israelite people. We have the bull alone as the emblem probably of the same god in Figs. 10, 11. As a herm ashera we see him in Fig. 12.

We thus have every one of the distinguishing marks of the early character of Yahwe in the characteristics of Adad-Ramman. I cannot help believing that he was the pagan Yahwe, before Yahwe emerged as the universal god of monotheism.

If, then, we may presume that Yahwe was, in origin of worship, the god Ramman, or Adad, we get an easier explanation of one or



FIG. 11.
J. Pierpont Morgan Library.



FIG. 12.—J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

two points in Hebrew history. Not only do we find an explanation of the representation of Yahwe in the Desert and later at Bethel, and Dan by the bull, but we may see how it was that Ahaz copied the altar at Damascus. We are told, II Kings 16:10-16, that when, after Tiglath-pileser had conquered Damascus, and

Ahaz had gone to Damascus to pay homage to the Assyrian king, he saw a magnificent altar there, of which he had Urijah, the priest, make a copy in the temple at Jerusalem for the worship of Yahwe. This altar at Damascus was with little doubt an altar for the worship of Adad, and the relation of Yahwe and Adad would have made it easier for Ahaz to make such an altar for Yahwe.

Another more definite case we have in the story of Naaman. After he had been healed by Elisha of his leprosy, we are told, II Kings 5:17-19, that Naaman declared that henceforth he would worship only Yahwe, nevertheless "when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, Yahwe pardon thy servant in this thing. And he (Elisha) said unto him, Go in peace." This is a surprising concession, and may be explained if there was supposed to be any relation between the god of Damascus and the God of Israel.

As an evidence of the presence of the worship of Adad in Palestine before the entrance of the Israelites, it is to be observed that he is the principal deity of that land of whom we have evidence from the Amarna letters. One of them, No. 149, 13, extols the king of Egypt, who "lifts up his voice like Addu, so that all the land trembles at his voice," Addu being the usual and correct name for Adad, with the case-ending. There are, I think, as many proper names in those letters composed of Addu as of all other gods combined. Thus we have A-Addu, Abd-Addi, Addu.-ia, Addu-asharidu, Addu-daian, Addu-dan, Addu-mihir, Amar-Addi, Yadi-Addi(?), Yaha-Addi, Yapahi-Addu, Yapti-Addu, Natan-Addu, Pu-Addi, Shanu-Addu, and Shipti-Addi. The evidence seems clear that he was the prevailing deity of the country. As such the Yahwe worship would be likely to come from the worship of this god.

As to the derivation of the name Yahwe, or more properly, Yahu, or Yah, I have nothing to add to the ignorance of all other scholars. Where Yahu is found in cuneiform theophorous names they are not properly Babylonian but western, if not Hebrew. Nor have I any theory to propound and defend for the derivation of El Shaddai which we are told was the earlier designation of

Yahwe; which means, I suppose, that a god Shaddai was identified with, or even became developed into, the god Yahwe. Shaddai is connected by Babylonian scholars with Shadû, mountain, which might relate it with Adad. I venture to ask the question whether, remembering the ease with which an original *shin* passes into one of the breathings in kindred languages, Shaddai may not be an earlier form of Hadad and Adad, or more easily, of the Addu of the Amarna tablets, just as we have the shaphel, hipphil, and aphel conjugations, and in the personal suffixes the Babylonian -shu corresponding to the Hebrew שָׁ and יָ; so may we have Shaddai corresponding to Hadad (with nominative case ending, Hadadu) and Adad (Adadu) and Addu. But this I leave to the linguists.

My simple contention is that Yah, or, with the nominative termination, Yahu, or with its later development, Yahwe, or Yahweh, was one of the early tribal names under which the most popular of the Syro-Hittite gods was worshiped in the period when the Hebrews emerged into history, as he was certainly worshiped by them. I offer it as what appears to me a more probable theory than that which derives the worship from an utterly unknown god of the Kenites of Moses' time, or from the ocean-god, Ea of the Babylonians.

THE CHRONICLER AS EDITOR AND AS INDEPENDENT NARRATOR

(Continued)

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2. In *Ezra-Nehemiah*

In the Chronicler's history of the Jews after the exile we are obliged, unfortunately, to depend chiefly upon internal evidence for our conclusions as to the sources which he used. We have merely what he himself has given us, and from that and our knowledge of his habits in the pre-exilic history we must form our opinion of his editorial proceedings here.

We know that he has used at least two documents; namely, an Aramaic story, *Ezr.* 4:8—6:18, written by one of his own school, and probably of his own generation; and the "Words of Nehemiah," including (as I have shown elsewhere) the greater part of the first six chapters of *Nehemiah*.¹⁸ The methods which he employs, in incorporating these documents in his narrative, are, so far as we are able to judge, identical with those employed in the books of *Chronicles*.

It certainly seems to be the case that both documents have been left untouched throughout the greater part of their extent. I have already discussed elsewhere the traces of the Chronicler's hand in the Aramaic story (*loc. cit.*, pp. 229 ff.). From *Ezr.* 4:8 to 6:8, and again through 6:11-14, there is no sign of his presence. It is quite possible that single words, or even phrases, may have been altered or added by him, here and there; just as we have seen him make insignificant verbal changes in some of the chapters in *Sam.* and *Kings* which he transcribes. But we may be sure that he has contributed nothing of importance to the Aramaic passages just named, and it is quite likely that he has not even changed a single word. Again, in *Neh.* 1:1—2:6;

¹⁸ See my *Composition of Ezra-Neh.*, pp. 35-49; and this *Journal*, XXIV, pp. 228-32.

2:9b-20; 4:1—6:19, we seem to have solid blocks of the Nehemiah narrative, transmitted with little or no editorial alteration. Here also we must conclude that if the Chronicler took any independent part, it was too slight to deserve consideration. In one place, 5:13, we seem to have one of those minor interpolations which he occasionally makes, namely the phrase: "And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised Yahwè."¹⁹ A few other things, here and there, appear to give evidence of his presence, but it is hardly possible to go beyond the mere suspicion. The language and style throughout these long sections are totally different from those of the Chronicler,²⁰ and it would be out of the question to think of him as the author of any extended passage.

The way in which the Chronicler makes considerable editorial additions to these two documents in Ezra-Neh. corresponds exactly to his mode of proceeding in the books of Chronicles. The Aramaic story in its original form (as I have elsewhere argued; *loc. cit.*, p. 232) probably began with the words: "*In the days of Artaxerxes the king wrote Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe,*" etc., as in Ezr. 4:8. The Chronicler composed two introductory verses, 6, 7, at the same time altering slightly the beginning of the incorporated passage. This is just what he does over and over again, all through the earlier part of his history; see, for example, I Chron. 11:10, 13:1 ff., II Chron. 1:1 ff., 2:1, 18:1 f., 24:4 f., 34:14. In the letter of Darius to Tattenai and his associates he has made one of his characteristic interpolations, Ezr. 6:9 f. This passage, brief as it is, is filled with the tokens of his presence, as I have elsewhere shown. It is not a case of revision, both verses are entirely his own. Brief passages of this sort are interpolated in many places in the pre-exilic history; with this particular instance cf. especially II Chron. 2:9, 14, observing the addition to the text of Kings. At the end of the Aramaic story, moreover, the Chronicler appends a passage of his own, Ezr. 6:15-18, filled to the brim with characteristic material. So with the additions to the Nehemiah story.

¹⁹ *Composition*, p. 39.

²⁰ This, of course, does not apply to the prayer, 1:5-11, which is built up of stock phrases, mostly Deuteronomic, and might as well have been written by the Chronicler as by anyone else.

Three verses, Neh. 2:7-9a, are interpolated at the point where the king grants his permission. The Chronicler saw a good opportunity to introduce one or two features in which he elsewhere shows great interest. Cf. especially I Esdr. 4:47b-56 (and my notes on the passage, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.), and see also my *Composition*, p. 36, where the numerous parallels are indicated. His always lively imagination shows itself here in the same varieties of embellishment with which we are familiar. He gives the name (his favorite "Asaph"!) of the keeper of the royal forest, and shows his customary interest in the buildings of Jerusalem; see above, p. 166. In chap. 3, vss. 1-32 are from the Chronicler's hand. This passage appears to be an independent creation of his, not based on anything written by Nehemiah, and it will therefore be mentioned later. The immediately following passage, 3:33-38 (English trans., 4:1-6), has always seemed to me to be at least in part the work of the Chronicler. I formerly thought (*Comp.*, pp. 38, 50) that the most of it might be saved for Nehemiah, but further study has convinced me that the six verses are all from the Chronicler's hand. The passage sounds like his writing throughout its whole extent, but the subject-matter is so unusual that characteristic words and phrases are not to be found. With היה, "restore," in vs. 34 cf. I Chron. 11:8. The collocation of the two words בָּיָה and שְׁבִיָּה occurs elsewhere only in II Chron. 28:14. And what was the "army of Samaria," before which Sanaballat made his speech (vs. 34)?²¹ The Chronicler's imagination pictured a standing army of hostile Samaritans; it is less likely that Nehemiah himself would have used the phrase הֵיל שְׁמִרֹן. Later than this (4:2) he speaks of a coalition and the collecting of an army to come against Jerusalem, which is something different. It is to be observed, furthermore, that the three passages, 2:19 f., 3:33 ff., and 4:1 ff., repeat one another rather awkwardly, and that the awkwardness is very much increased when the Chronicler's interpolation, 3:1-32, is removed. And finally, in regard to vss. 36 f. Siegfried, *Comm.*, writes: "Neh. bewegt sich durchaus in den Wendungen der nach-

²¹ Of course it is probable, as I have said before, that the Sanaballat of the Elephantine papyri is the one mentioned by Nehemiah.

exilischen Psalmendichtung." This is not altogether easy to believe of Nehemiah, but we know it to be true of the Chronicler; and to the latter it seems best, for every reason, to attribute the whole passage.²² His purpose in inserting it is precisely the same which he had in inserting I Chron. 12:38-40, or II Chron. 21:12-15, or the many other equally striking episodes; namely, the purpose of a first-class narrator to take full advantage of the most important situations. The passage 6:16-19 I am also inclined to attribute to the Chronicler for reasons which I will not take the time to discuss here.²³

Cases of thoroughgoing alteration of material are of course not to be found in Ezra-Nehemiah. It is not likely that any such alteration took place here; nor, if it had, should we be able to recognize it. The Aramaic story would never have been corrected in the interest of the Chronicler's aim; its tendency, from beginning to end, was substantially the same as his own. There is nothing whatever to indicate that it has been either abridged or expanded by him, or that any change in it was made, aside from the few additions which have already been described. So also with the Nehemiah narrative. If there has been any more extensive editing than that which has just been pointed out, we have at least no evidence of the fact. It appears that Nehemiah's own personal memoir ended either with 6:15 or with 6:19. If the following chapters, 7, 11, 12, and 13,²⁴ are in any way based on material originally provided by Nehemiah, they at all events contain nothing to indicate the fact. On the contrary, they seem to be filled full with the Chronicler's own familiar themes and materials (not at all like the things in which Nehemiah himself shows interest!), and are couched throughout in

²²I formerly thought (*Comp.*, pp. 35, 47) that the presence of the word יהודים, "Jews," testified against the Chronicler's authorship. This is not the case, however; he uses the word in I Esdr. 4:49, 50, as well as in Neh. 13:23. It is merely accidental that he does not use it oftener.

²³It is quite likely, further, that the prayer of Nehemiah, 1:5-11a, has at least been edited by the Chronicler. Among the occasional words and phrases which I have suspected of belonging to the latter writer are: the name, "Hanani," in 1:2 (cf. 7:2); possibly 2:13 f. ?; the last clause of 2:20; the "Ashdodites" in 4:1; and the whole middle part of 5:14, from מִשְׁנֵה to עָשָׂה (cf. 13:6). The last-named passage is an important one.

²⁴As I have shown elsewhere, chaps. 8-10 originally belonged to the Ezra story, and were transferred to the book of Nehemiah through the error of a copyist.

his own language. Knowing, as we do, his method of writing the pre-exilic part of the history, where he originated by himself about as much material as he obtained from others (see below), no theory of editorial alteration in the last chapters of Nehemiah can have scientific value.

III. THE CHRONICLER AS INDEPENDENT NARRATOR

1. *The Sources, Real and Imaginary, in I and II Chron.*

The sixty-five chapters which make up the books of I and II Chron. occupy fifty pages in Kittel's polychrome edition. Of this amount, nearly one half is printed in plain black and white by Kittel. That is, about one half of the material of this important document is known to us only as it comes from the hand of the Chronicler, being altogether independent of any other documents with which we are acquainted. Whoever approaches the book with the idea that it is merely an edition of the canonical history (as it is sometimes styled) will be amazed to find out how much of this added matter there is. And the character of the matter, if anyone examines it carefully, will soon tell its own story in unequivocal fashion. It does not consist of mere appendages to the older history, *it is itself the important part*. The whole work was planned and executed for the sake of these independent chapters and paragraphs. Its author, as we have seen, was a man with a definite and important aim, and it was just here that his purpose was carried out.

The Chronicler, as he wrote, had before him the Pentateuch, and the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to II Kings; the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and probably all, or nearly all, of the other prophetic writings known to us; also the greater part of the Psalter. So far as we are able to judge, the form in which he had these books was substantially identical with the form in which we have them now. Against the probability that any other historical material of value was at his command stand some very potent facts, as many scholars have remarked. The Jews of the third century B.C. did not even have in their possession historical traditions regarding the first half of the Persian period (see above, p. 226), to say nothing of a still earlier

time. In the books of Samuel and Kings, which were given their present form some considerable time after the fall of Jerusalem, was embodied all that was known of the history of the Hebrew kingdoms; there is no likelihood whatever that other records, not used by the editors of Kings, were in existence and survived until the Chronicler's day.

Nevertheless the Chronicler, in a series of allusions scattered through his book, presents us with the names of a most impressive collection of historical works, of which certainly the most, and probably all, are otherwise unknown to us. These are the following:

1. The Acts (דברי) of Samuel the Seer. I Chron. 29:29.
 2. The Acts of Nathan the Prophet. I Chron. 29:29, II Chron. 9:29.
 3. The Acts of Gad the Seer. I Chron. 29:29.
 4. The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite. II Chron. 9:29.
 5. The Vision of Iddo the Seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat. II Chron. 9:29. (The writings named thus far are said by the Chronicler to contain information regarding the deeds of David or of Solomon.)
 6. The Acts of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer. II Chron. 12:15.
 7. The Teaching (מידרש)²⁵ of the Prophet Iddo. II Chron. 13:22.
 8. The Acts of Jehu the son of Hanani, "which are included in the Book of the Kings of Israel." II Chron. 20:34.
 9. A book written by "Isaiah the son of Amoz, the prophet," containing "the rest of the acts of Uzziah." II Chron. 26:22.
 10. The "acts of seers" who are not named. II Chron. 33:19.²⁶
- These are the seers who lived in the time of Manasseh, and are said by the Chronicler to have written down his acts.

²⁵ The precise meaning of the word, occurring here and in no. 15, is uncertain. It must at any rate be connected with the common use of the verb דרש in the meaning "search (for truth)," "inquire into," and the like. Perhaps originally this noun formed with the prefix *ma-* denoted the "place where the inquirer is to search," and thence "authoritative teaching." It is hardly safe to assume that the word in these two passages had the very same connotation as the later technical term, "*midrash*."

²⁶ The text of the verse seems to be corrupt. MT and Jerome read "Hozai," a proper name. Theodotion probably had before him חוזים (without the article), and this is the most likely reading; cf. vs. 18. The Syriac has "Hanan the prophet."

11. The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah. I Chron. 9:1,²⁷ II Chron. 27:7, 35:27. It is possible that in this and the three (or four) following numbers we have merely variations of the same title. It is plainly not *our* Book of Kings to which reference is made; see especially I Chron. 9:1, II Chron. 20:34, 27:7, 33:18, 36:8.

12. The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. II Chron. 16:11, 25:26, 28:26, 32:32.

13. The Book of the Kings of Israel. II Chron. 20:34 (see the reference to this passage above, in no. 11).

14. The Acts of the Kings of Israel. II Chron. 33:18. Said to contain the prayer of Manasseh, and the words of the seers who warned him.

15. The Teaching (מִדְרָשׁ)²⁸ of the Book of Kings. II Chron. 24:27.

The Chronicler nowhere expressly quotes from any one of these works; he does not even say that he himself made use of any of them as sources. But he plainly wishes to give the impression that he is writing with authority, and concerning matters which were well known, at least to the inner circle in Jerusalem which preserved the true tradition. Obviously, some of these titles are a mere literary adornment, designed to give the impression just described, and any close study of the evidence leads to the same conclusion in regard to all the titles in the list.

The material which has come to us only through the books of Chronicles is perfectly homogeneous, the work of a single hand. It is impossible to suppose that any part of it is excerpted, as the Chronicler habitually excerpts from the sources which we know him to have used. It is certainly not the case that Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Isaiah, and the authors of the other "sources," used all exactly the same language and style, and wrote with the selfsame tendency. But this is not all. The language, style, and tendency, throughout these long and important chapters and sections, *are those of the Chronicler*

²⁷ So, of course, the verse must be punctuated, as in all the old versions.

²⁸ See no. 7, and the note there.

himself and of no one else. This is well stated by Driver, *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. "Chronicles," col. 772: "The style of the Chronicler has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically late linguistic novelties, . . . but it has also a number of special mannerisms. . . . So constant are [these marks] that there is hardly a sentence, *not excerpted from Samuel or Kings*,²⁹ in which they are not observable." And yet Professor Driver, sharing the traditional disinclination to believe that the Chronicler himself invented any *long* passages—though he supposes him very frequently to have invented *short* ones!—expresses himself as follows in his *Introduction*², p. 493. After drawing the conclusion that all this added matter must be either the composition of the Chronicler or derived from *a contemporary writing*, he adds, in a footnote: "The former alternative is decidedly the more probable; but the latter cannot be absolutely excluded. The author of the 'Midrash of the Book of Kings' *may*, for instance, have used a style and diction similar to those of the Chronicler." But this is lame reasoning. What logical value is there in the suggestion that some (why not all?) of the added matter may have been composed not by the Chronicler, but by another writer who wrote at the same time, with the same aim (*ibid.*, p. 498), and employing the same peculiar language and style? This is really a *reductio ad absurdum*. It is time that scholars were done with this phantom "source," of which the internal evidence is absolutely lacking, and the external evidence is limited to the Chronicler's transparent parading of "authorities;" while the evidence against it is overwhelming.³⁰ It may be added, that the hypothesis of a "midrashic" source, of which such very free conjectural use has been made by modern scholars, does not at all suffice to explain the Chronicler's added matter. The latter does *not* consist, for the most part, of moral and religious lessons, nor is it an expansion or explanation of an older text. It is motivated history; and the one thing which is fundamental to it everywhere is the studied purpose of an earnest man. Nothing is included by accident, nowhere is any other aim than the Chronicler's apparent. What

²⁹ The italics are mine.

³⁰ If Chronicles had not been a sadly neglected book, these manifestly untenable theories could not have held the field for so long a time.

we have is a consistently altered picture—the Chronicler's own picture—of the whole history, every single portion supporting and supplementing every other portion. As has already been said, it was this added material that formed the all-important part of the work.

The Old Testament writers, in their methods and practices, seem generally to have followed the traditions of their time; and in thus making an impressive (though equivocal) show of authorities, the Chronicler was doing what many ancient writers of note have done.³¹ What he aimed at was partly literary adornment,³² but partly also an apologetic advantage. He certainly could not count on the immediate success of his improved version of the sacred history, and it might be that even these allusions to ancient writings, presumably known in Jerusalem, would be of assistance against the rivals of the Jews. I believe, however, that the literary motive was the principal one. Be that as it may, the necessary conclusion as to the origin of the material of I and II Chron. not derived from our canonical books is this, that it was all freely composed by the Chronicler himself, in the pursuit of his apologetic aim.

2. *The Chronicler's Characteristics as a Narrator*

So much has been said on this subject already, in the course of the preceding argument, that it is possible to be brief here. The Chronicler has some very strong points as a story-teller, though they have been generally overlooked because of the traditional view of him as a mere compiler. I have already given some examples of the way in which he occasionally "retouches" the older narrative by introducing into it local color and fresh incident (above, pp. 167, 169). The story of Ornan the Jebusite, as retold by him in I Chron. 21, furnishes a typical instance. His imagina-

³¹ See, for illustration, Bernheim, *Historische Methode*, 272 ff.; James, *Apocrypha Anecdota* ii, p. xcvi.

³² I have no doubt that it is a purely literary embellishment when the latest editor of the Books of Kings speaks of "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," as of works which at least had been in existence: "The rest of his acts, . . . were they not written, etc.?" It is not in the least likely that this editor had seen such chronicles, nor does he say that he had. But he wished to offset in this harmless way, so far as he could, the humiliating effect of this extremely meager account of the Hebrew Kings.

tion is not the mere bondservant of his tendency. He very frequently creates new pictures and invents striking details with a dogmatic purpose, it is true, but perhaps quite as often with a purely literary aim. Few, if any, of all the narrators of the Old Testament could surpass him in vividness of imagination. Every scene stands out clearly before his eyes, as his thought creates the successive incidents. Everything is alive, and in movement. He is fond of putting things in the most concrete form, giving places, names, and dates, even when he is thus taking liberties with the older history. If his skill—or care—in telling the story were equal to his power of invention, he would stand among the first of Hebrew writers. But this is unfortunately not the case. In constructing his narrative he is often careless, sometimes extremely so; his language is inelegant, even for the time in which he lived; and his style is slovenly to the last degree.

The following instances, picked up at random, may serve to illustrate further his chief characteristics. II Chron. 22:11b; the statement that Jehosheba was the wife of Jehoiada the priest is the addition of a true story-teller. This is perhaps a little more than a literary touch, to be sure, since by means of it the credit for the rescue of the boy king is given entirely to the priests and Levites. II Chron. 21:12–15; the introduction of the letter from the prophet Elijah to Joram of Judah is the same sort of lively editing which we have in the case of the Hiram-Solomon correspondence (mentioned above). Of a similar nature are the speeches which the Chronicler is so very fond of putting into the mouth of his characters.³³ Their purpose is simply to lend a certain dramatic vividness to the narration. A good example is I Chron. 12:18. In II Chron. 21:16 f. the Chronicler removes in a picturesque way all the sons of the wicked queen Athaliah, excepting only the one (the youngest) who afterward reigned. The inveterate fondness for furnishing a date is illustrated in 16:12: "And in the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa was diseased in his feet" (cf. I Kings 15:23). And it is with names as it is with dates; where the ordinary narrator merely tells the occurrence, the Chronicler gives the name of the

³³ See Driver, *Encycl. Bibl.*, *loc. cit.*, col. 772, and note 2.

man. Thus 14:8: "There came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian." There is no reason for thinking of possible "written sources," in the many cases of this kind. No one was better able to invent such names than the Chronicler himself.

II Chron. 24:15-22 is a bit of narrative which illustrates both the Chronicler's didactic habit and also his manner as a narrator. Vs. 20, in particular, is characteristic: "And the spirit of God came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest; and he stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of Yahwè?" The motives which led the Chronicler to create this episode are obvious. The sad end of Joash (II Kings 12:17-21), who had done so many good things in his lifetime, needed some preparation in the preceding history, and this was accordingly provided. Even after the death of Jehoiada (the narrator would say), the king and the princes were not left without admonition; the son of that famous priest began to rebuke them, but was slain by the command of the king. This was all laid close at the narrator's hand by the needs of the situation; but the enlivening touches, the spoken words, and the picture of the young priest "standing above" the people, are marks of the Chronicler's individuality. II Chron. 16:7-12 is another case which affords an excellent parallel. Here the good king who goes astray is Asa. The prophet who warns him is Hanani.³⁴ Asa, like Joash, is enraged, and puts the seer in a dungeon. Then this king also, like the other, comes to a mournful end (as told in I Kings 15:23). The story of Uzziah is another parallel. Here we are told in II Kings 15:5 that the good king became a leper, and the Chronicler tells the reason why; II Chron. 26:16-20. This time it is a priest who withstands the king and utters the rebuke which is quoted. Cf. further 20:14-17, and 28:9-13.

The following are minor touches illustrating the Chronicler's imaginative way of narrating. I Chron. 11:23: "In the Egyptian's hand was a spear *like a weaver's beam*" (cf. II Sam. 23:21). We might also expect the Chronicler to give the name of this

³⁴ Known in I Kings 16:1, 7 only by name, as the father of the prophet Jehu. The name Hanani(ah) is one of the Chronicler's favorites, being introduced by him wherever there is opportunity. See for example II Chron. 26:11.

Egyptian. 12:8: David's Gadite warriors were men "*whose faces were like the faces of lions*, and they were as swift as the roes upon the mountains." And among these same warriors were those (vs. 15) "*who went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks.*" And in vs. 39, those who came to Hebron to make David king "*were there with David three days, eating and drinking.*" 28:2: "*Then David the king stood up upon his feet*, and said, Hear me, my brethren," etc. II Chron. 13:4: "*And Abijah stood upon Mount Zemaraim, . . . and said, Hear me, Jeroboam and all Israel.*" 16:14: When Asa was buried, "*they laid him in a bed which was prepared with perfumes and spices of many kinds*" (Asa was one of the Chronicler's favorite characters). 20:5: "*And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of Yahwè, before the new court.*" Vs. 16, speaking of a coming encounter with the forces of Edom, Ammon, and Moab: "*Ye shall find them at the end of the valley, before the wilderness of Jeruel.*" The Chronicler's imagination locates the scene exactly, as usual. Vss. 18 f.: Jehoshaphat and all the people bowed down with their faces to the ground, "*and the Levites . . . stood up to sing praises,*" etc. 26:16 ff., the story of Uzziah's trespass: As the king stood there in his anger, "*the leprosy broke forth in his forehead in the sight of the priests. . . . And they thrust him out quickly from thence; yea, he himself hastened to go out.*" 28:7: "*And Zikri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the King's son,*" and others whose names are likewise invented with the sole purpose of giving life to the narrative. 29:3 f.: King Hezekiah, "*in the first year of his reign, in the first month*, opened the doors of the house of Yahwè, and repaired them. And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered them together *into the broad place on the east.*" 35:20, at the time when Josiah went out to meet Necho, the latter was marching to battle "*at Carchemish on the Euphrates.*"

All the embellishment of this kind, which is purely literary, is valuable for the light which it throws on the Chronicler's qualities as a composer of narrative. It has received little attention hitherto, for the obvious reason that it has been customary to relieve

the Chronicler of the responsibility for this material, supposing him to have derived it from older writers, especially "the midrashic source" and "the lost book of Kings." But every particle of it bears the plain stamp of one man's hand.

Those independent contributions to the history which have been made by the Chronicler in the interest of the Levitical organization, and of the religious beliefs and practices of his day, have been treated often and well; though they have not been adequately studied from the literary side, and even those who have discussed them most fully have been content to leave open the bewildering possibility that they (or some of them) were not written by the Chronicler, but by another man who lived at about the same time, had the same views, and wrote in the same peculiar manner. Examples of narrative which originated in the Chronicler's well-known prejudices may be passed over here, important as they are. But, as I have already shown, he was not a mere dealer in *midrashim*, but the champion of a great cause. His interest in the Levitical organization was only one feature (though a very important feature) of his interest in all the peculiarly Jewish religious institutions. And he repeatedly invents historical episodes in which his controversial purpose can be seen.

His defense of the sole authority of the church in Jerusalem, and his half-concealed polemic³⁵ against the Samaritans in particular, make their appearance with emphasis as soon as he comes in his history to the dividing of the kingdom. The reason why the Northern Kingdom of Israel is generally left out of account by him is mainly because it lay outside the sphere of his chief purpose,³⁶ but is found also in the fact that in his own day rival Hebrew organizations, and especially the church on Mount Gerizim, were using the existence of this Northern Kingdom as a weapon against the pretensions of the Jews. At the very beginning of

³⁵ He was of course much too shrewd a man to introduce into his history any open polemic against the Samaritans. Anything resembling this must immediately have spoiled the effect of his whole work. If it could easily be recognized as a party document, he might as well have spared himself the trouble of writing it. His whole hope of success lay in giving it the appearance of history, built up out of material which antedated the Samaritan schism.

³⁶ And yet we can imagine that the Chronicler, with his zeal for the glory of the Hebrew people as over against the other peoples of the earth, might have been glad to make mention of the external prosperity of such reigns as those of Ahab and Jeroboam II.

his account of the schism, in the story of Abijah and his war with Jeroboam, the Chronicler lays down his main thesis in a very conspicuous manner. The king of Judah delivers an oration, II Chron. 13:4-12, in which, after showing that the men of the northern kingdom were apostates and idolaters (vss. 5-8), he utters these words: "Have ye not driven out the priests of Yahwè, the sons of Aaron, *and the Levites*, and have made for yourselves priests from the people of the land?³⁷ Whoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, he may become a priest to your false gods. ¹⁰But as for us, Yahwè is *our* God, and *we have not forsaken him*. We have priests ministering to Yahwè, *the sons of Aaron, and the Levites in their work*. ¹¹And they [i. e., the priests]³⁸ burn unto Yahwè every morning and every evening burnt offerings and sweet incense; the showbread also is set in order on the pure table, and the golden candlestick with its lamps, to burn every evening. *For we keep the charge of Yahwè our God, but ye have forsaken him.*" The purpose of all this is as plain as day. It is precisely the main purpose of the whole book of Ezra, and of chaps. 7-13 of the book of Nehemiah; namely, to show that the Samaritans, who claimed to be the heirs of the Northern Kingdom, and a legitimate branch of the people of Yahwè, had no right to recognition. The Chronicler here, as elsewhere, insists on the pure blood, not contaminated by inter-marriage; and he enumerates the details of the orthodox forms of the worship, as it existed in his day in Jerusalem, but nowhere else, not even on Mount Gerizim. The Samaritan priests are men of the *עמי הארצות*, however near they may keep to the regulations of the Pentateuch.³⁹ So also with the rest of the officials and the apparatus of the temple. In the church which had its center at Shechem, the Levites of the Chronicler's Jerusalem, with their important tasks and elaborate organization, did not

³⁷ Read *מִעַמִּי הָאֲרָצוֹת*, following the Greek, ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς γῆς.

³⁸ The Chronicler, in his usual slovenly style, attaches the participle *מַקְטִירִים* to its predecessor *מְשַׁרְתִּים* as though nothing had intervened.

³⁹ With the "young bullock and seven rams" of vs. 9 compare Exod. 29:1, 35, etc. Perhaps the Chronicler is not trying to be exact in these verses, but it may well be that we are to recognize in them both what *was* and what *was not* included in the official ritual of the Samaritan church in the Chronicler's day.

exist.⁴⁰ Jerusalem preserved the true tradition of the cult; in departing from it these northern rivals were apostates. In the development of his theme the Chronicler composes here an elaborate narrative of 18 verses, containing the account of an ambush, the slaying of 500,000 men of the Northern Kingdom (thus the pure Hebrew stock there suffered a great diminution at the very beginning!), and the names of the cities which Judah captured on this occasion.

Another instance of this nature is II Chron. 25:6-10, 13. Amaziah, in undertaking an important expedition against the Edomites, hires a large body of warriors from Israel. A prophet warns him that "Yahwè is not with" the people of the Northern Kingdom; so he sends the army back, and it returns home "in fierce anger." Bent on revenge, it lays waste the cities of northern Judea. Similar in its motive, again, is the story told in 28:6-15. This is very lively, and full of incident. The principal scene is vividly sketched, two speeches are reported *verbatim*, and the names of nine characters, otherwise unknown, are given. This affords a very good example, in brief compass, of the Chronicler's skill as a novelist.

A considerable part of the Chronicler's independent narrative is not controversial at all, but simply composed with a didactic aim. In the cases of this kind, as in the others, it is his habit to carry back into the history of earlier times the things which he either saw, or would like to see, in his own day. A very good example is furnished by the two passages, II Chron. 17:7-10 and 19:4-11. King Jehoshaphat wished all his people to know the Pentateuch and be governed by it. He therefore in the third year of his reign appointed men to visit all the cities of Judah, teaching the law of Moses and acting as judges in accordance with it (17:7 ff.). This worked so well that "the fear of Yahwè fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat" (vs. 10). Some years later, accordingly, after the king had become well

⁴⁰The term "Levites" here of course includes "porters" and "singers," just as it does everywhere else in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. where there is no special reason for distinguishing the separate classes. In the following narrative, vss. 12, 14, the priests appear with trumpets as in I Chron. 15:24, Ezr. 3:10, Neh. 12:35, etc. This occasion (actual battle!) would be no place for the "singers." Kittel, *Comm.*, p. 130, writes without due consideration.

established in his kingdom, he renewed this appointment of judges and teachers, making the organization more formal and thorough, as well as more permanent (19:4 ff.). The result was just the same as in the former case. Jehoshaphat and his people immediately triumphed over a great hostile army, without the necessity of striking a single blow (20:1-28). "And the fear of God was on all the kingdoms of the lands, when they heard that Yahwè fought against the enemies of Israel" (vs. 29). These judges and teachers are said by the Chronicler, in both cases, to consist of prominent men of Judah, priests, and Levites.⁴¹ Through their co-operation was made possible a uniform knowledge of the divine law, and a uniform administration of it, all through the land. Beside the local seats of justice there was the central seat, in Jerusalem (19:8). All this, as has often been remarked, corresponds closely to conditions which actually existed in the land at the close of the last century B. C. (see Josephus, *Antt.*, iv, 214-18, and Schürer, *Geschichte*³, II, 176-79), and probably also in the time of the Chronicler. He doubtless had in mind a still more thorough and efficient system, and hoped to see it extended. How fundamentally important it seemed to him may be seen from II Chron. 15:3, Ezr. 7:10, 25 f., 10:14. Ezra the priest was a judge and a teacher himself, administering the law of Moses, and he appointed others for the same important work. On the Levites as judges and teachers, see also I Chron. 23:4, 26:29, Neh. 8:7, 9; and with II Chron. 19:11 cf. especially Neh. 11:22-24.⁴²

3. The "Ezra Memoirs"

From what has been said, above, as to the character of the Chronicler's work, that it is an elaborate historical apology for the Jewish institutions of his time, it is obvious that the center of

⁴¹ In 17:7 f., "princes, Levites, and priests," exactly as in Neh. 10:1, etc.

⁴² Benzinger's amazing comments on the two passages, II Chron. 17:7 ff. and 19:4 ff., are characteristic of the manner in which he has hastened through the books of Chronicles (*Comm.*, p. 104): "Das erbauliche Element in der Erzählung fehlt gänzlich. . . . Sodann ist nicht einzusehen, wozu die Erfindung der Namen der obersten Beamten 17:7 gedient hätte. Bei einem Produkt freier Phantasie hätte sich Chr. resp. seine Quelle an den Priestern und Leviten genügen lassen. . . . Chr. und seine Zeit hätten die Verkündigung des Gesetzes den Leviten und Priestern allein überlassen, deren Amt das war; vgl. die Gesetzesverlesung Neh. 8, bes. v. 7, 8" (and yet it is obvious that in Neh. 8:4 laymen are intended, and the most of the names are actually found, as names of "chief men of the people," in Neh. 10:15-28 and Ezr. 10:25-43). And both Benzinger and Kittel find it noticeable that the laymen are mentioned first, in 17:7 f. ! In 19:8 point of course רִיבְשָׁה.

gravity in it must lie in his account of the restoration. The one possible key to the situation which confronted him was a formal and thoroughgoing "restoration" through the medium of the Babylonian captivity (see above, pp. 157, 161). There was no other way in which the primacy of the Jewish church, and the exclusion of its rivals, could be assured—now that those ill-fated verses, II Kings 24:14 ff., 25:8–12, 22, 25 f., had been written and widely circulated. It was absolutely necessary to show that the genuine old Hebrew church, both its men and its institutions, came straight from Babylonia to Judea, and that the ancient stream of tradition had been kept uncontaminated.

We should accordingly expect that the Chronicler, in passing on from the story of the kingdom to that of the Persian period, would begin to show the measure of his best work. That is, in fact, what we do see. The amount of the independent material which he contributes is proportionately but little greater here, it is true, than in the earlier sections. In I and II Chron., as we have seen, nearly one-half of the whole was composed by him; and here in Ezr.-Neh. his contribution amounts to about two-thirds, consisting largely of lists of names. But it is in some respects work done more thoroughly (not more carefully; the Chronicler never did anything with great care) than any of that which preceded it. So far as the author's manner and his literary habits and devices are concerned, the Chronicler's narrative in Ezr.-Neh. presents nothing at all that is new, excepting the (very natural) use of the first person in the story of Ezra, in imitation of the memoir of Nehemiah. But the opportunity which he had here to show his inventive ability and his constructive skill was much greater than any which he had had previously. He had before him, as usable material, two documents. The first was an Aramaic popular tale of the building of the temple, recently composed by one of his own way of thinking. It was dated, unmistakably, in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. The second was the memoir of Nehemiah, telling of the building of the city wall. This was dated in the reign of a certain "Artaxerxes," who, if the Aramaic story was right, must have been Artaxerxes II. So the Chronicler evidently reasoned, on the basis of Ezr. 4:19–24.

Aside from these two documents, and the few data in the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the whole Persian period was a blank, which he was free to fill as he saw fit.

From his account of the last days of the kingdom of Judah and the destruction of the temple (nearly all of II Chron. 35, and 36:13-21, being his own free composition) he proceeds directly to narrate the restoration at the beginning of the Persian rule. This is told in his well-known manner, with primary attention to all the details connected with the Jewish church, and the smallest possible amount of other narrative. There is no evidence, nor likelihood, that he had any written source, other than those already named. He tells of the proclamation of Cyrus (Ezra, chap. 1), and how the king restored the sacred vessels; he also gives (in I Esdras 4:47-56) the contents of the letters of Cyrus to his Syrian officials, with prescription for all the principal institutions and ordinances of the Jewish community as the Chronicler imagined it. He gives the date (of course!) of the great return, and the names and lineage of the leaders (I Esdras 5:4-6); and then the all-important *list*, outside of which there was no ecclesiastical salvation. In Ezra 3 and 4:1-5 he narrates how the returning exiles settled in the land, restored the worship as far as possible, and began building the temple. In 3:12 f. we have one of those descriptive touches of which he is master. It is worthy of especial notice how in 4:1-5 he does the same thing which he had done in II Chron. 13:4-11 (see above). Just as the speech of Abijah, made after the division of the kingdom, showed that the true tradition was in Jerusalem and not in northern Israel, so here, immediately after the return, the fact is stated with emphasis that the Samaritans (purposely called by the non-committal term, "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin") have no part in the true worship of the God of Israel, although they claim to have it.

But the story of Ezra is the episode of especial interest in this "post-exilic" history, and the one which best illustrates the qualities which have been described. It is "the Chronicler's masterpiece" (*Comp.*, p. 57). I showed in my former brief treatise that he is the sole author of this, and the proof there given, while

it might have been extended much farther, was more than sufficient.⁴³ It is singular that the fact should have remained so long unrecognized. A generation or more ago, when it was still believed that there was a "post-exilic style" of Hebrew prose, it was easy to believe that these supposed three men, the Chronicler, Ezra, and Nehemiah, could all write in exactly the same way. But the time for such an easy-going theory is long past, now that we know that the authors of the books Joel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jonah, Ruth, Nehemiah (in chaps. 1-6), Koheleth, Esther, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the writer of the "Priestly Narrative" in the Pentateuch—not to mention still others—wrote each in his own individual manner, and no one of them in a style which at all resembles that of the Chronicler.

First, as to the fact that the whole of the "Ezra memoir" (especially Ezr. 7:27—10:44 and Neh. 7:70—10:40) is written in the Chronicler's own words, whether created by him entire or merely rewritten. It is only necessary to ask three questions: (1) Is there such a thing as a characteristic style; i. e., a recognizable individuality in the use of words and phrases and in the manner of expressing ideas? (2) Did the Chronicler have a style which can be recognized? (3) In what passages or chapters of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. is it to be found with certainty? The first of these questions must of course be answered affirmatively. The answer to the second is, or ought to be, known to every student of Hebrew. There is *no writer*, in all the Old Testament, whose peculiarities of language and style are *so* strongly marked, or who can *so* easily and certainly be recognized, as the Chronicler.⁴⁴ In answer to the third question I make the following assertion, which is the assured result of a good deal of hard study: *There is no portion of the whole work Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. in which the Chronicler's literary peculiarities are more strongly marked, more abundant, more evenly and continuously distrib-*

⁴³ Most of the reviewers of my *Composition* passed very hastily over the evidence of language and style, as though these were matters of minor importance! In nearly every case, however, they acknowledged the justice of the claim which I had made (p. 16), that my lists of words and usages were trustworthy so far as they went. One reviewer, Löhr, in the *Theol. Rundschau*, 1898, pp. 331 f., asserted the contrary, with a succession of statements which are not only misleading but in part positively unfair.

⁴⁴ See the statement of Professor Driver, already quoted (above, p. 195).

uted, and more easily recognizable, than in the Hebrew narrative of *Ezr.* 7-10 and *Neh.* 8-10. Sufficient proof of this can be seen by anyone even in the long "list of peculiar usages" published in Driver's *Introduction*, or in that given in Geissler's *Litterar. Beziehungen der Esramemoiren*, 1899, pp. 5-11,⁴⁵ without the necessity of going farther. How does it happen that the Chronicler, and "Ezra" (everywhere), and Nehemiah (everywhere excepting in chaps. 1-6!) all write just the same very peculiar Hebrew? So far as this phenomenon has been noticed at all, it has been customary to explain it by saying that the Chronicler *as editor* gave the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah a stylistic revision: "weil ja der Verf. (Chroniker) die Denkschrift Esra's umgeschrieben und in sein Buch aufgenommen hat, wobei sich leicht seine Sprachfärbung dem Texte mittheilte" (von Orelli, in the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1898, p. 290). But those who attempt this explanation show that they neither realize the extent of this "revision" nor have an acquaintance with the Chronicler's editorial methods. He also edited *Neh.*, chaps. 1, 2, 4-6, but left all this apparently untouched, saving a few verses which he added or inserted, and which contain the only sure marks of his hand. More important still, we know just how he has edited the multitude of long extracts from the books of Samuel and Kings. The material of which he has made use there has *not* been given his "Sprachfärbung." His peculiar words and usages, such as those given in the long list just mentioned, are almost never found in the chapters and paragraphs which he has transferred; and even in the comparatively few cases where he has revised or expanded the older narrative they are not at all common. The only passages in which his characteristics appear frequently, in successive verses and many times

⁴⁵Geissler's investigation is industrious and useful, but his conclusions in the matters now under discussion are singularly at variance with the evidence which he presents. After showing the enormous extent to which the literary stock-in-trade of "Ezra" coincides with that of the Chronicler, he goes on to discuss the words and phrases occurring both in "Ezra" and in the Hexateuch (pp. 12-21), presenting an array of evidence which proves nothing more than this, that the Chronicler wrote Hebrew and had read his Bible. He then presents (pp. 22 f.) the linguistic material peculiar to the "Ezra memoirs." What is gained from this very meager list, and from the remarks which follow it, is merely the certainty that a few words and phrases found in Ezra are not found in Chron., and *vice versa*; i. e., that the Chronicler really had at his command as large a vocabulary as he might be expected to have.

on a single page—as they appear all the time in the Ezra story—are the paragraphs and chapters which he has composed independently. This is a statement concerning which there can be no dispute. It can easily be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to study the books of Chronicles in Kittel's edition, with the aid of the lists already mentioned. As I said in my *Comp.*, pp. 51 f.: "The Chronicler incorporates his documentary sources entire, so far as practicable, not rewriting them or working them over, but enriching them occasionally with an added clause or inserted paragraph." I have now given sufficient illustration of this (see above), and it is a fact well known to those who have studied the books of Chronicles.⁴⁶ So when, for example, Kraetzschmar, in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, col. 350, would make the concession, "dass der Chronist in die Esra-Memoire stärker eingegriffen hat, als man bisher im Allgemeinen annahm" (cf. also Geissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f.), he is proposing an explanation of the facts which is entirely inadmissible.

Then, as to the significance of the fact that the Ezra story lies before us in the Chronicler's own language. There is only one possible conclusion to be drawn from the abundant material which we have to guide us, namely this, that the story is entirely his own composition. Kraetzschmar, *loc. cit.*, objects: "Es wäre ein Leichtes, nach des Verfassers Methode auch diese Kapitel [I Chron. 21 and II Chron. 28 f.] und noch viele andere auf älteren Quellen beruhende der Chronik als vom Chronisten frei erfunden und gänzlich ungeschichtlich hinzustellen." Of course! That is the only treatment possible to one who knows the Chronicler and has any idea what a scientific method is. In the two chapters, II Chron. 28 f., and all others like them, *whatever the Chronicler himself has written*, in the way of either addition or alteration, is "frei erfunden und ungeschichtlich." Since Kraetzschmar has pointed out these three chapters by way of illustration, it may be well to notice, in passing, what they really illustrate. In II Chron. 28 f. there are no marks whatever of the Chronicler's

⁴⁶ Thus Benzinger, *Comm.*, p. 113, decides that the story of Joash's repairing of the temple, II Chron. 24:4-14, cannot come from the Chronicler, simply because the story told in Kings has been thoroughly rewritten (and altogether changed in its contents, be it noted!).

hand in any of the verses which contain material from II Kings. But in the remainder of the two chapters, where he cuts loose from his source and composes his own narrative, the characteristic words and phrases appear. In I Chron. 21, where he has merely made extensive superficial alteration, while retaining a good deal of the material of his source, no traces of his language and style appear (and this, as I remarked above, is the rule in such cases). This chapter, therefore, stands on an altogether different footing from those in the Ezra story. With the narrative which does not appear to have been written by the Chronicler we have at present nothing to do.

Further, the narrative which gives evidence of coming from the Chronicler's hand cannot possibly be treated as substantially representing an older source. It is not simply that we have no guarantee that in introducing his own form of words he has not altered the material contents of his source; we know with certainty that in all such cases he has altered them fundamentally. The evidence of I and II Chron. is conclusive on this point, as I have shown. Wherever he employs his own language, the substance also is his; and if the traces of his presence are numerous throughout any considerable piece of narrative, the overwhelming probability is that he had no written source at all for it.

Now, as a matter of fact, there is nothing whatever to make it seem likely that the Chronicler had any source, written or oral, for his story of Ezra. If we have any definite knowledge at all of this "Ezra," we know that he was a man precisely like the Chronicler himself: interested very noticeably in the Levites, and especially the class of singers; deeply concerned at all times with the details of the cult and with the ecclesiastical organization in Jerusalem; armed with lists of names giving the genealogy and official standing of those who constituted the true church; with his heart set on teaching and enforcing the neglected law of Moses throughout the land (see above, pp. 202 f.); and—most important of all—zealous for the exclusion of the "people of the land," the condemnation of mixed marriages, and the preservation of the pure blood of Israel! There is not a gar-

ment in all Ezra's wardrobe that does not fit the Chronicler exactly. To suppose that the latter could have *rewritten* the words, and twisted the ideas, of this kindred spirit, whose testimony was of such immense importance to all his own special interests, is out of the question; his intelligence was not of such a low order as this; and we know, besides, that his habit was directly opposed to any such proceeding, even when the material was not exactly suited to his purpose.

One literary feature of the "Ezra document" is referred to over and over again as conclusive proof of its genuineness, namely the occasional appearance of *the first person*. "*I* was strengthened" (Ezr. 7:38); "the princes drew near to *me*" (9:1); "and *we* cast lots" (Neh. 10:34). Such verses as these, it is said, must surely come directly from Ezra himself; for anyone else would have narrated in the third person—as is done in Ezr. 10 and Neh. 8, for example. Thus Orelli, in the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1898, p. 292, asks how it is possible to deny the authentic memoir—"ihr Vorhandensein bekundet deutlich genug noch das ungesuchte Auftreten der ersten Person des Erzählers." But surely no extensive acquaintance with ancient literature is needed in order to recognize this very transparent and very common literary device. Such touches as these, used often brilliantly, but hardly ever consistently, are the Chronicler's regular stock-in-trade. If we had no direct proof that narratives written in the first person were known to him, we might hesitate a little to suppose that he (with all his power of living in the scenes which he depicts) had adopted this form of composition. But he actually had the Nehemiah memoir in his hands! As for the change from the first person to the third, and back again, which has so thoroughly mystified our Old Testament scholars, it is not even necessary to make it a special reproach to the Chronicler's carelessness, since it occurs, in precisely the same way, in many other ancient works of fiction. A good example is found in the fourth chapter of Daniel. I quote from Bevan's *Commentary*, p. 87: "One peculiarity which cannot fail to strike the reader, is that in the middle of the narrative (4:25-30 [English trans., vss. 28-33]) the author, forgetting for the moment that he is writing in the

name of Nebuchadnezzar, speaks of the king in the third person, but afterwards returns to the first (vss. 31-34)." Another instance, equally instructive, is furnished by the same book. From 7:2 onward, to the end of the book, all of the narrative is given in the first person, with the exception of 10:1, where the third person is temporarily introduced. Are we to conclude that the authentic memoirs of Daniel begin at 7:2, and that 10:1 has been "überarbeitet," or inserted by the redactor? Excellent illustration is given by the book of Enoch, in more than one place. 12:3, for example, begins one of the "Ichstücke" (observe vss. 1, 2). Shall we not suppose that one of the extracts from the genuine personal memoir of Enoch begins at this point? And, again, there is the story of Tobit. Chaps. 1-3 (in both of the principal Greek recensions) are composed in the first person; but in chaps. 4-14 the narrator lapses into the third person. In the seventh chap. of the Book of Jubilees, where the narrative is in the third person, in vs. 26 it suddenly passes over, without any warning, into the first person, and so continues to the end of the chapter (vss. 26-39), after which the third person is resumed.⁴⁷ A similar thing happens in the ancient *Protevangel of James*, where a part of the narrative, told by Joseph, suddenly adopts the first person—simply because the writer's imagination happened to work in that way. Excellent illustration from the Gentile narrative literature is afforded (for instance) in the various recensions of the *Thousand and One Nights*, in numerous places; also in the Arabic story of *Sūl und Schumūl*, ed. Seybold, p. 79, lines 14 f.; p. 85, line 16. In all these cases, and many similar ones, and in the Chronicler's change from "I" to "he" in telling Ezra's story, the determining factor is the same: whether the narrator uses the first person or the third depends simply on the mood of his imagination; whether, as he sits down to write a fresh chapter, he happens to identify himself with his hero, or not.⁴⁸

⁴⁷There are many illustrations of such sudden change, back and forth, in the Jewish apocalyptic literature. Thus, the "Life of Adam and Eve," § 33 (Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 524, bottom); the cases noted in James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii, pp. lv, xc, xcii, xciv f., 124 ff.; also these same Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, II, 2, pp. 146 f.; further, Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise* (Leipzig, 1837), ii, 3, and the trans. by Bornemann, *Zeitschr. Wiss. Theol.*, 1844, 3. Heft, pp. 20 f.

⁴⁸It cannot be insisted too often, that these writers were not trying to "forge documents." The device of using occasionally the first person (like that of presenting fictitious

It is a most significant fact, in this connection, that the very verses and passages which contain "Ezra's" first person are often those which are most noticeably filled with the telltale signs of the Chronicler. Thus, the verses 7:27—8:1 which form the beginning of the first "memoir section" show a remarkable aggregation of such marks, including some of the most characteristic of all (see my *Composition*, pp. 16 f., 20 f.). Geissler, *op. cit.*, p. 12, records his conclusion that the traces of the Chronicler's hand are as numerous in 7:28—9:15 (i. e., in the "Ichstück"!) as in chap. 10, and even more numerous than in Neh., chaps. 8—10.⁴⁹ But if even these cherished "I" verses were composed by the Chronicler, where then can we hope to find traces of Ezra's handiwork? Bertholet, *Comm.*, p. xiv, in blissful ignorance of the true state of the case, writes as follows: "Am leichtesten lässt sich herauschälen, was Chr von jenen Memoiren in unverändertem Wortlaute [!] mitteilt. Es ist von den Esramemoiren: 7:27—8:34, 9:1—15." But can Bertholet point out, anywhere in these sections, half a dozen consecutive verses which (after examining Geissler's lists) he can confidently pronounce free of the suspicion of being at least "überarbeitet"? On the contrary, the style is everywhere and unmistakably that of the Chronicler. And the whole argument for the genuineness of these "Ichstücke"—the supposed *ipsissima verba*—rests on the assumption that they have *not* been rewritten.

To all this must be added, finally, that the literary qualities of the narrative in Ezr. 8—10 and Neh. 8—10 are exactly those of the independent narrative in I and II Chron. Reference has already been made, in the preceding pages, to some important

material in the form of edicts and letters in full official dress; see XXIV, p. 220) was always adopted with a literary purpose, never chiefly in order to gain credence—though this aim may possibly also have been present in some cases.

⁴⁹In regard to the chapters in Neh., however, Geissler, like some of his predecessors, is strangely blind. He writes (*loc. cit.*): "Auffällig ist es, dass die Gebete Ezr. 9:6-15, Neh. 9:6-37 viel weniger Verwandtschaft mit der Sprache von Ch verraten als die erzählenden Abschnitte." This shows how very slight his acquaintance with the Chronicler is. These prayers, like all the many others which the Chronicler introduces into his history, consist chiefly of a tissue of quotations from Deut., which was the favorite devotional book of the Jewish community throughout the most of the Persian and Greek periods, until it was finally supplanted by the Psalms. And it would be nothing short of a marvel if more than a very few traces of his hand should appear, even in the unusually long prayer in Neh. Geissler speaks of the section Neh. 8-10 as "considerably longer" (i. e., for the purposes of his linguistic investigation) than Ezr. 8-10. But it is really shorter, when the lists of names and the prayers are left out of account.

illustrations of this point. Both the subject-matter and the manner of treating it are the Chronicler's own. The proportion of the material is just the same as usual; the same which we have remarked in the opening chapters of Ezr., for example; a great deal of space given to ecclesiastical matters and machinery, and the minimum of narrative. Levites are mustered, and temple vessels numbered and weighed; feasts are celebrated, and reforms instituted and accepted by "the congregation" on the basis of the law. The Chronicler's omnipresent number twelve appears here also; thus, in 8:3-14, 24, 35 (cf. 6:17), 10:25-43 (in the original form; see the Greek of vss. 38 ff.), Neh. 9:4 f., twelve including Ezra; see the Greek text at the beginning of vs. 6; and probably also originally in Neh. 8:4, 7 (cf. Ezr. 2:2=Neh. 7:7). The didactic utterance in Ezr. 8:22*b* is one of his especial favorites; see II Chron. 13:18, 14:7, 11, 15:2(!), 17:9 f., 20:6, 17, 20, 24:20, 25:8 f. The usual short speeches are uttered, e. g., Ezr. 8:28 f., 10:2 ff., 10 ff., Neh. 8:9 f., 11. Names and dates are given in the customary profusion. The style of the narration is as lively as ever. Observe the following very characteristic touches, which remind us at once of the flashes of life and local color which appear all through the independent narratives of I and II Chron. Ezr. 8:15: "And I gathered them together *at the river at Ahava*, and there we encamped *three days*." 9:3: "I rent my garment, *and pulled out the hair of my head and of my beard*." 10:6: "Then Ezra arose . . . and *went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib*." Vs. 9: "And all the people sat *in the broad place before the house of God*, trembling because of this matter, *and because of the great rain*" (see also vs. 13). Neh. 8:1: "And all the people gathered themselves together as one man *into the broad place before the water gate*" (see also vs. 16). Vs. 5: "And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people—*for he was above all the people*" (cf. vs. 4, and II Chron. 6:13!), "and when he opened it, *all the people stood up*." 9:4: The Levites "*stood up upon the stairs*." Cf. the passages cited above, pp. 198 f.

The Chronicler's "creation of the character" of Ezra is not an especially noteworthy achievement for him. His immediate pur-

pose drew the indistinct outlines. To what I wrote regarding this matter in my *Comp.*, pp. 57-62, the following may be added, as to considerations which must have chiefly influenced him in fashioning the story. It was necessary that the sin of intermarriage with foreigners—the thing which the Samaritans had done—should be severely scored. There was only one natural way to do this, namely, by telling how the returned exiles once fell into this evil way (in their partial innocence!),⁵⁰ were rebuked by one who had authority; and how they then gave solemn promise, in public assembly, to do so no more. Given the obvious necessities of the Chronicler's aim, and the creation of "Ezra the scribe" just as he appears, and the general outline of the events in which he figured, follow as matters of course. Compare also what is said below, regarding the character of Nehemiah.

4. *The Chronicler's Narrative of Nehemiah*

What has just been said in regard to the story of Ezra can also be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the considerable addition to the Nehemiah memoir which the Chronicler has made; namely, Neh. 7:1-69;⁵¹ 11:1-13:31. These two passages, when joined together by the removal of the interpolated section 7:70-10:40, form a solid block of the Chronicler's own very characteristic material, self-consistent, perfectly comprehensible in every part, and in the same order and extent which he himself originally gave it; excepting, of course, that the text has suffered some corruption. It is all the unaided work of his hand, and there is no part of it concerning which there can be any reasonable doubt when the evidence has been examined. I presented the argument briefly in my *Comp.*, pp. 39-49, and the force of what was said there is much increased by the demonstration of the Chronicler's aims and characteristics which I have given here.

11:1 is the immediate and necessary continuation of 7:69. Just as soon as the statistics are finished, and the narrative is

⁵⁰As the narrative everywhere says or implies, the people had sinned grievously in neglecting the law; and yet they had the partial excuse that its use had for a long time and of necessity been suspended, and there had been no "expert scribe" to teach it to them (cf. II Chron. 15:3!).

⁵¹As I have already said (p. 191), I suspect the passage 6:16-19. It seems to me safer, however, to leave it with the Neh. memoir for the present. 7:69 is 7:68 in Baer's edition.

resumed in 12:27 ff., it is the Chronicler, unmistakably, who is the narrator. The Nehemiah who told his story in chaps. 1-6 was a man of affairs; truly religious, but giving no sign of any interest in the ritual of the temple. But the Nehemiah of 12:27-13:31 is simply Ezra (i. e., the Chronicler) under another name. Subject-matter, manner, language, and style, all bear the same witness in every paragraph; and here also, as in Ezra, it is precisely the "Ichstücke" which are most characteristically and certainly the composition of the Chronicler. The current "analysis" of 12:27-43, which saves for Nehemiah every verse which happens to contain "I" or "me," and pronounces all the others "edited," is a curious specimen of literary criticism. The fact is, there is no excuse for analysis here anywhere. In vss. 37 ff. we see once more the Chronicler's ever-present interest in the topography and buildings of Jerusalem (above, p. 166). In chap. 13 the main features of those orthodox institutions in the interest of which the whole history Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was composed are brought forward for the last time. "Ezra" had recently given them his powerful support, and now Nehemiah is made to do the same—often in a remarkably similar form of words; adopting, in fact, the peculiar language of the Chronicler. There is the zeal for the pure blood of Israel, vss. 1-4, 23-28; the care for the perquisites of the temple officials, vss. 5-13, 30 (cf. especially 10:35-40!); the rebuke of those who break the sabbath, and especially of those of the "people of the land" who bring wares to Jerusalem for sale on that day, vss. 15-22 (cf. especially 10:32!); and, most striking of all, the curious *veiled allusion* to the Samaritan schism, in vss. 28 f. (see above, p. 200, and *Comp.*, p. 48).⁵² The circumstantial manner of the narrative is the one with which we are familiar; see for instance 12:31 ff. (where the Chronicler's personal leaning toward Ezra appears in vs. 36!), 13:8, 21, 24 f. In all this, again, as in the story of Ezra, there is nothing whatever to indicate a written source.

The lists in chaps. 7, 11, and 12 were very important, from the Chronicler's standpoint. This was his final presentation of

⁵² It may be that the Chronicler believed Nehemiah to have been living at the time of the rupture with the Samaritans, but that he did not quite dare to connect him definitely with the event. Compare what is said, below, in regard to his chronology of Nehemiah.

the historical antecedents of the Jewish official church, bringing down "the true Israel" almost to his own day. In 7:5 Nehemiah is made to "gather together the nobles, and the rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy." The principal result of this gathering was the finding of the "book of the genealogy of those who came up," which is evidently represented as containing not only 7:6-69, but also 11:1-36. Further fruit of this effort on the part of Nehemiah is given in 12:1-26. As has already been remarked, the Chronicler believed Nehemiah to have flourished under Artaxerxes II; he therefore would naturally have supposed him to survive until the time of Jaddua (12:11) and Darius III (12:22), and could easily represent him as the compiler of all these lists in chap. 12.⁵³

In his list of those who helped to build the wall, in the time of Nehemiah, Neh. 3:1-32, the Chronicler presents the usual names; and doubtless rejoiced the hearts of many of his contemporaries. For specific marks of his hand here, see *Comp.*, pp. 37 f.

The "great list," 7:6-69, had already been given in full by the Chronicler, in Ezr. 2:1-67. He repeats it here, partly because of its fundamental importance, and partly because it formed an integral part of the material the rest of which he wished to present in 11:1-12:26. It is entirely his own composition, and (like everything else of his) is put together with insufficient care. Hence the great difficulties it has always presented to those who have tried to take it seriously. See, for example, Bertholet, *Comm.*, p. 8, where it is shown, on the best of modern authority, (1) that this cannot possibly be a genuine list of returning exiles; and (2) that it cannot ever have been intended as any other kind of a list!⁵⁴

⁵³As for the "book of chronicles" referred to in 12:23, we have no reason to suppose that it was anything more than one of this writer's fictitious sources, like those which have received mention above.

⁵⁴As has already been observed, the names in these manifold tables of the Chronicler are largely or wholly those of his orthodox contemporaries. It would be interesting to know what lay beneath the express degradation of certain families, 7:61 f., 63 ff. It may be worth while to recall the fact that Delaiah (vs. 62) is given in the Elephantine papyrus as the name of Sanaballat's elder son; though the coincidence may be only accidental. Regarding the number of "the whole congregation," 42, 360 (so in *all* the texts, and therefore pretty certainly original), the conjecture may be hazarded that it is the result of one of the Chronicler's computations. Josephus, *Antt.*, x, 8, 5, reckons 3,513 years from the creation down to the destruction of the temple. If we suppose the Chronicler to have reckoned the number at 3,530, his total number of the new congregation would have included twelve men for each year of that period. To show the possibility of some such computation: creation to

The Nehemiah of chaps. 7 and 11-13, as already observed, is in nearly all respects the same character as the Ezra of Ezr. 8-10, Neh. 8-10. One would expect that a writer of the Chronicler's ability would at least have given the latter hero some pronounced characteristics (other than a mighty fondness for Levites and singers), and that he would have studied Nehemiah's memoir for the very purpose of recognizing salient traits which he could then reproduce in his own added chapters. But the only thing of this kind which he has done is to introduce into chap. 13 several of the brief interjected prayers (vss. 14, 22, 29, 31) which are so striking a feature of the genuine narrative (3:36, 37, 5:19, 6:14).

In general, it is evident that the Chronicler became an editor more from necessity than from choice. By taste and gift he was a novelist. He would doubtless have preferred to give freer rein to his imagination in composing the story of the Jews and their antecedents. But he was now writing not to interest, but with an apologetic purpose. The support of the recognized history was indispensable; outside this, it was important that he should confine himself to what was necessary. In the pre-exilic period, he could not well avoid incorporating at least a part of the well-known history of every king of Judah. In the post-exilic period, he certainly seems to have made the most of the two documents which were available. And his view of the history ultimately gained general acceptance, though it seems to have made its way slowly. The evidence that he was an earnest and devout man is abundant and striking. No one ever believed more sincerely than he that human prosperity rests only upon the fear of God; and from time to time, throughout his history, he puts into the mouth of his characters some expression of his own conviction, that if the people, all through the land, could be thoroughly instructed in the divine truth, all their serious troubles would be over.

Exodus = 2,666 years, according to MT; Exodus to building of temple = 440 years, in the Greek version of I Kings 6:1; 36 = remaining years of Solomon (I Chron. 3:2, 9:30); 258 = synchronistic years of the two kingdoms, in MT; fall of Samaria to destruction of temple = 134 years, in MT. Total, 3,534 years. After deducting the four years which are counted twice, where these five periods overlap, final result, 3,530 years. Regarding the Chronicler's infatuation for the number *twelve*, see above, pp. 172, 213.

YEZIDI TEXTS (*Continued*)¹

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TRANSLATION

In the Name of the Most Compassionate God!

With the help of the Most High God, and under his direction, we write the history of the Yezidis, their doctrines, and the mysteries of their religion, as contained in their books, which reached our hand with their own knowledge and consent.

In the time of Al-Muḡtadir Billah, A. H. 295,⁴⁸ there lived Maṣṡūr-al-Ḥallāj,⁴⁹ the wool-carder, and Šeiḡ 'Abd-al-Ḳādir of Jilān.⁵⁰ At that time, too, there appeared a man by the name of Šeiḡ 'Adī, from the mountain of Ḥakkārī,⁵¹ originally from the region of Aleppo or Baalbek. He came and dwelt in Mount Lališ,⁵² near the city of Moṣul, about nine hours distant from it. Some say he was of the people of Ḥarrān, and related to Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam. His full name is Šaraf ad-Dīn Abū-l-Faḍāil, 'Adī bn Musāfir bn Ismael bn Mousa bn Marwān bn Al-Ḥasan bn Marwān. He died A. H. 558 (A. D. 1162-63). His tomb is still visited; it is near Ba'adrei, one of the villages of Moṣul, distant eleven hours. The Yezidis are the progeny of those who were the *murids* (disciples) of Šeiḡ 'Adī. Some trace their origin to Yezid,⁵³ others to Ḥasan-Al-Baṣrī.⁵⁴

AL-JILWAH (THE REVELATION)

Before all creation this revelation was with Melek Tā'us, who sent 'Abd Tā'us to this world that he might separate truth from error and make truth known to his particular people. This was done, first of all, by means of oral tradition, and afterward by means of this book, Al-Jilwah, which the outsiders may neither read nor behold.

¹ See the January issue of this *Journal* for the Arabic text.

CHAPTER I

I was, am now, and shall have no end. I exercise dominion over all creatures and over the affairs of all who are under the protection of my image. I am ever present to help all who trust in me and call upon me in time of need. There is no place in the universe that knows not my presence. I participate in all the affairs which those who are without call evil because their nature is not such as they approve. Every age has its own manager, who directs affairs according to my decrees. This office is changeable from generation to generation, that the ruler of this world and his chiefs may discharge the duties of their respective offices every one in his own turn. I allow everyone to follow the dictates of his own nature, but he that opposes me will regret it sorely. No god has a right to interfere in my affairs, and I have made it an imperative rule that everyone shall refrain from worshipping all gods. All the books of those who are without are altered by them; and they have declined from them, although they were written by the prophets and the apostles. That there are interpolations is seen in the fact that each sect endeavors to prove that the others are wrong and to destroy their books. To me truth and falsehood are known. When temptation comes, I give my covenant to him that trusts in me. Moreover, I give counsel to the skilled directors, for I have appointed them for periods that are known to me. I remember necessary affairs and execute them in due time. I teach and guide those who follow my instruction. If anyone obey me and conform to my commandments, he shall have joy, delight, and goodness.

CHAPTER II

I requite the descendants of Adam, and reward them with various rewards that I alone know. Moreover, power and dominion over all that is on earth, both that which is above and that which is beneath, are in my hand. I do not allow friendly association with other people, nor do I deprive them that are my own and that obey me of anything that is good for them. I place my affairs in the hands of those whom I have tried and who are in accord with my desires. I appear in divers manners to those who

are faithful and under my command. I give and take away; I enrich and impoverish; I cause both happiness and misery. I do all this in keeping with the characteristics of each epoch. And none has a right to interfere with my management of affairs. Those who oppose me I afflict with disease; but my own shall not die like the sons of Adam that are without. None shall live in this world longer than the time set by me; and if I so desire, I send a person a second or a third time into this world or into some other by the transmigration of souls.

CHAPTER III

I lead to the straight path without a revealed book; I direct aright my beloved and my chosen ones by unseen means. All my teachings are easily applicable to all times and all conditions. I punish in another world all who do contrary to my will. Now the sons of Adam do not know the state of things that is to come. For this reason they fall into many errors. The beasts of the earth, the birds of heaven, and the fish of the sea are all under the control of my hands. All treasures and hidden things are known to me; and as I desire I take them from one and bestow them upon another. I reveal my wonders to those who seek them, and in due time my miracles to those who receive them from me. But those who are without are my adversaries, hence they oppose me. Nor do they know that such a course is against their own interests, for might, wealth, and riches are in my hand, and I bestow them upon every worthy descendant of Adam. Thus the government of the worlds, the transition of generations, and the changes of their directors are determined by me from the beginning.

CHAPTER IV

I will not give my rights to other gods. I have allowed the creation of four substances, four times, and four corners; because they are necessary things for creatures. The books of Jews, Christians, and Moslems, as of those who are without, accept in a sense, i. e., so far as they agree with, and conform to, my statutes. Whatsoever is contrary to these they have altered; do not accept it. Three things are against me, and I hate three things. But

those who keep my secrets shall receive the fulfilment of my promises. Those who suffer for my sake I will surely reward in one of the worlds. It is my desire that all my followers shall unite in a bond of unity, lest those who are without prevail against them. Now, then, all ye who have followed my commandments and my teachings, reject all the teachings and sayings of such as are without. I have not taught these teachings, nor do they proceed from me. Do not mention my name nor my attributes, lest ye regret it; for ye do not know what those who are without may do.

CHAPTER V

O ye that have believed in me, honor my symbol and my image, for they remind you of me. Observe my laws and statutes. Obey my servants and listen to whatever they may dictate to you of the hidden things. Receive that that is dictated, and do not carry it before those who are without, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others; for they know not the nature of my teaching. Do not give them your books, lest they alter them without your knowledge. Learn by heart the greater part of them, lest they be altered.

Thus endeth the book of Al-Jilwah, which is followed by the book of Maṣḥaf Reš, i. e., the Black Book.

MAṢḤAF REŠ (THE BLACK BOOK)

In the beginning God created the White Pearl out of his most precious essence. He also created a bird named Anġar. He placed the White Pearl on the back of the bird, and dwelt on it for forty thousand years. On the first day, Sunday, God created Melek Azazil, and he is Tâ'us-Melek, the chief of all. On Monday he created Melek Dardâel, and he is Šeiḥ Ḥasan. Tuesday he created Melek Israfel, and he is Šeiḥ Šams [ad-Dîn]. Wednesday he created Melek Miḥâel, and he is Šeiḥ Abû Bakr. Thursday he created Melek Azrâel, and he is Sajad-ad-Dîn. Friday he created Melek Šemnâel, and he is Naşir-ad-Dîn. Saturday he created Melek Nurâel, and he is Yadin [Fahr-ad-Dîn]. And he made Melek Tâ'us ruler over all.⁵⁵

After this God made the form of the seven heavens, the earth, the sun, and the moon. But Fahr-ad-Dîn created man and the

animals, and birds and beasts. He put them all in pockets of cloth, and came out of the Pearl accompanied by the angels. Then he shouted at the Pearl with a loud voice. Thereupon the White Pearl broke up into four pieces, and from its midst came out the water which became an ocean. The world was round, and was not divided. Then he created Gabriel and the image of the bird. He sent Gabriel to set the four corners. He also made a vessel and descended in it for thirty thousand years. After this he came and dwelt in Mount Lališ. Then he cried out at the world, and the sea became solidified and the land appeared, but it began to shake. At this time he commanded Gabriel to bring two pieces of the White Pearl; one he placed beneath the earth, the other stayed at the gate of heaven. He then placed in them the sun and the moon; and from the scattered pieces of the White Pearl he created the stars which he hung in heaven as ornaments. He also created fruit-bearing trees and plants and mountains for ornaments to the earth. He created the throne over the carpet.⁵⁶ Then the Great God said: "O Angels, I will create Adam and Eve; and from the essence of Adam shall proceed Šehar bn Jebr, and of him a separate community shall appear upon the earth, that of Azazil, i. e., that of Melek Ṭā'us, which is the sect of the Yezidis. Then he sent Šeilh 'Adi bn Musâfir from the land of Syria, and he came [and dwelt in Mount] Lališ. Then the Lord came down to the Black Mountain. Shouting, he created thirty thousand Meleks, and divided them into three divisions. They worshiped him for forty thousand years, when he delivered them to Melek Ṭā'us, who went up with them to heaven. At this time the Lord came down to the Holy Land (al-Ḳuds), and commanded Gabriel to bring earth from the four corners of the world, earth, air, fire, and water. He created it and put in it the spirit of his own power, and called it Adam.

Then he commanded Gabriel to escort Adam into Paradise, and to tell him that he could eat from all the trees but not of wheat.⁵⁷ Here Adam remained for a hundred years. Thereupon, Melek Ṭā'us asked God how Adam could multiply and have descendants if he were forbidden to eat of the grain. God answered, "I have put the whole matter into thy hands." There-

upon Melek Tâ'us visited Adam and said, "Have you eaten of the grain?" He answered, "No, God forbade me." Melek Tâ'us replied and said, "Eat of the grain and all shall go better with thee." Then Adam ate of the grain and immediately his belly was inflated. But Melek Tâ'us drove him out of the garden, and leaving him, ascended into heaven. Now Adam was troubled because his belly was inflated, for he had no outlet. God therefore sent a bird to him which pecked at his anus and made an outlet, and Adam was relieved.

Now Gabriel was away from Adam for a hundred years. And Adam was sad and weeping. Then God commanded Gabriel to create Eve from under the left shoulder of Adam. Now it came to pass, after the creation of Eve and of all the animals, that Adam and Eve quarreled over the question whether the human race should be descended from him or from her, for each wished to be the sole begetter of the race. This quarrel originated in their observation of the fact that among animals both the male and the female were factors in the production of their respective species. After a long discussion Adam and Eve agreed on this: each should cast his seed into a jar, close it, and seal it with his own seal, and wait for nine months. When they opened the jars at the completion of this period, they found in Adam's jar two children, male and female. Now from these two our sect, the Yezidis, are descended. In Eve's jar they found naught but rotten worms emitting a foul odor. And God caused nipples to grow for Adam that he might suckle the children that proceeded from his jar. This is the reason why man has nipples.

After this Adam knew Eve, and she bore two children, male and female; and from these the Jews, the Christians, the Moslems, and other nations and sects are descended. But our first fathers are Šeth, Noah, and Enosh, the righteous ones, who were descended from Adam only.

It came to pass that trouble arose between a man and his wife, resulting from the denial on the part of the woman that the man was her husband. The man persisted in his claim that she was his wife. The trouble between the two was settled, however, through one of the righteous men of our sect, who decreed that at

every wedding a drum and a pipe should be played as a testimony to the fact that such a man and such a woman were married legally.

Then Melek Ṭā'us came down to earth for our sect [i. e., the Yezidis], the created ones, and appointed kings for us, besides the kings of ancient Assyria, Nisroch, who is Naṣir-ad-Dīn; Kamush, who is Melek Faḥr-ad-Dīn, and Artāmīs, who is Melek Šams-[ad-]Dīn. After this we had two kings, Šabur (Sapor) First (224–272 A. D.) and Second (309–379), who reigned one hundred and fifty years; and our amirs down to the present day have been descended from their seed. But we hated four kings.

Before Christ came into this world our religion was paganism. King Ahab was from among us. And the god of Ahab was called Beelzebub. Nowadays we call him Pir Bub. We had a king in Babylon, whose name was Baḥtnaṣar; another in Persia, whose name was Aḥšuraš; and still another in Constantinople, whose name was Agrikālus. The Jews, the Christians, the Moslems, and even the Persians, fought us; but they failed to subdue us, for in the strength of the Lord we prevailed against them. He teaches us the first and last science. And of his teachings is:

Before heaven and earth existed, God was on the sea, as we formerly wrote you. He made himself a vessel and traveled in it in *kunsiniyat*⁵⁸ of the seas, thus enjoying himself in himself. He then created the White Pearl and ruled over it for forty years. Afterward, growing angry at the Pearl, he kicked it; and it was a great surprise to see the mountains formed out of its cry; the hills out of its wonders; the heavens out of its smoke. Then God ascended to heaven, solidified it, established it without pillars. He then spat upon the ground, and taking a pen in hand, began to write a narrative of all the creation.

In the beginning he created six gods from himself and from his light, and their creation was as one lights a light from another light. And God said, "Now I have created the heavens; let some one of you go up and create something therein." Thereupon the second god ascended and created the sun; the third, the moon; the fourth, the vault of heaven; the fifth, the *farj* (i. e., the morning star); the sixth, paradise; the seventh, hell. We have already told you that after this they created Adam and Eve.

And know that besides the flood of Noah, there was another flood in this world. Now our sect, the Yezidis, are descended from Na'umi, an honored person, king of peace. We call him Melek Miran. The other sects are descended from Ham, who despised his father. The ship rested at a village called 'Ain Sifni,⁵⁹ distant from Mosul about five parasangs. The cause of the first flood was the mockery of those who were without, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others descended from Adam and Eve. We, on the other hand, are descended from Adam only, as already indicated. This second flood came upon our sect, the Yezidis. As the water rose and the ship floated, it came above Mount Sinjar,⁶⁰ where it ran aground and was pierced by a rock. The serpent twisted itself like a cake and stopped the hole. Then the ship moved on and rested on Mount Judie.

Now the species of the serpent increased, and began to bite man and animal. It was finally caught and burned, and from its ashes fleas were created. From the time of the flood until now are seven thousand years. In every thousand years one of the seven gods descends to establish rules, statutes, and laws, after which he returns to his abode. While below, he sojourns with us, for we have every kind of holy places. This last time the god dwelt among us longer than any of the other gods who came before him. He confirmed the saints. He spoke in the Kurdish language. He also illuminated Mohammed, the prophet of the Ishmaelites, who had a servant named Mu'âwiya. When God saw that Mohammed was not upright before him, he afflicted him with a headache. The prophet then asked his servant to shave his head, for Mu'âwiya knew how to shave. He shaved his master in haste, and with some difficulty. As a result, he cut his head and made it bleed. Fearing that the blood might drop to the ground, Mu'âwiya licked it with his tongue. Whereupon Mohammed asked, "What are you doing, Mu'âwiya?" He replied, "I licked thy blood with my tongue, for I feared that it might drop to the ground." Then Mohammed said to him, "You have sinned, O Mu'âwiya, you shall draw a nation after you. You shall oppose my sect." Mu'âwiya answered and said, "Then I will not enter the world; I will not marry."

It came to pass that after some time God sent scorpions upon Mu'awiya, which bit him, causing his face to break out with poison. Physicians urged him to marry lest he die. Hearing this, he consented. They brought him an old woman, eighty years of age, in order that no child might be born. Mu'awiya knew his wife, and in the morning she appeared a woman of twenty-five, by the power of the great God. And she conceived and bore our god Yezid. But the foreign sects, ignorant of this fact, say that our god came from heaven, despised and driven out by the great God. For this reason they blaspheme him. In this they have erred. But we, the Yezidi sect, believe this not, for we know that he is one of the above-mentioned seven gods. We know the form of his person and his image. It is the form of a cock which we possess. None of us is allowed to utter his name, nor anything that resembles it, such as *šeitân* (Satan), *ķaitân* (cord), *šar* (evil), *šat* (river), and the like. Nor do we pronounce *mal'ûn* (accursed), or *la'anat* (curse), or *na'al*⁶¹ (horseshoe), or any word that has a similar sound. All these are forbidden us out of respect for him. So *ħass* (lettuce) is debarred. We do not eat it, for it sounds like the name of our prophetess Ĥassiah. Fish is prohibited, in honor of Jonah the prophet. Likewise deer, for deer are the sheep of one of our prophets. The peacock is forbidden to our Šeiħ and his disciples, for the sake of our Țâ'us. Squash also is debarred. It is forbidden to pass water while standing, or to dress up while sitting down, or to go to the toilet room, or to take a bath according to the custom of the people.⁶² Whosoever does contrary to this is an infidel. Now the other sects, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others, know not these things, because they dislike Melek Țâ'us. He, therefore, does not teach them, nor does he visit them. But he dwelt among us; he delivered to us the doctrines, the rules, and the traditions, all of which have become an inheritance, handed down from father to son. After this, Melek Țâ'us returned to heaven.

One of the seven gods made the *sanjaks*⁶³ (standards) and gave them to Solomon the wise. After his death our kings received them. And when our god, the barbarian Yezid,⁶⁴ was born, he

received these *sanjaks* with great reverence, and bestowed them upon our sect. Moreover, he composed two songs in the Kurdish language to be sung before the *sanjaks* in this language, which is the most ancient and acceptable one. The meaning of the song is this:

Hallelujah to the jealous God.

As they sing it, they march before the *sanjaks* with timbrels and pipes. These *sanjaks* remain with our emir, who sits on the throne of Yezîd. When these are sent away, the *ḡawwâls* assemble with the emir, and the great general, the *ṣeîḥ*, who is the representative of Šeîḥ Naşir ad-Dîn, i. e., Nisroch, god of the ancient Assyrians. They visit the *sanjaks*. Then they send each *sanjak* in care of a *ḡawwâl* to its own place; one to Ḥalataneye, one to Aleppo, one to Russia, and one to Sinjar. These *sanjaks* are given to four *ḡawwâls* by contract. Before they are sent, they are brought to Šeîḥ 'Adî's tomb, where they are baptized amid great singing and dancing. After this each of the contractors takes a load of dust from Šeîḥ 'Adî's tomb. He fashions it into small balls, each about the size of a gall nut, and carries them along with the *sanjaks* to give them away as blessings. When he approaches a town, he sends a crier before him to prepare the people to accept the *ḡawwâl* and his *sanjak* with respect and honor. All turn out in fine clothes, carrying incense. The women shout, and all together sing joyful songs. The *ḡawwâl* is entertained by the people with whom he stops. The rest give him silver presents, everyone according to his means.

Besides these four *sanjaks*, there are three others, seven in all. These three are kept in a sacred place for purposes of healing. Two of them, however, remain with Šeîḥ 'Adî, and the third remains in the village of Baḡazanie, which is distant from Mosul about four hours. Every four months these *ḡawwâls* travel about. One of them must travel in the province of the emir. They travel in a fixed order, differing each year. Every time he goes out, the traveler must cleanse himself with water made sour with *summaḡ* (sumac) and anoint himself with an oil. He must also light a lamp at each idol that has a chamber. This is the law that pertains to the *sanjaks*.

The first day of our new year is called the *Serşâlie*, i. e., the beginning of a year. It falls on the Wednesday of the first week in April.⁶⁵ On that day there must be meat in every family. The wealthy must slaughter a lamb or an ox; the poor must kill a chicken or something else. These should be cooked on the night the morning of which is Wednesday, New Year's day. With the break of day the food should be blessed. On the first day of the year, alms should be given at tombs where the souls of the dead lie.

Now the girls, large and small, are to gather from the fields flowers of every kind that have a reddish color. They are to make them into bundles, and, after keeping them three days, they are to hang them on the doors⁶⁶ as a sign of the baptism of the people living in the houses. In the morning all doors will be seen well decorated with red lilies. But women are to feed the poor and needy who pass by and have no food; this is to be done at the graves. But as to the *ḡawwâls*, they are to go around the tombs with timbrels, singing in the Kurdish language. For so doing they are entitled to money. On the above-mentioned day of *Serşâlie* no instruments of joy are to be played, because God is sitting on the throne (arranging decrees for the year),⁶⁷ and commanding all the wise and the neighbors to come to him. And when he tells them that he will come down to earth with song and praise, all arise and rejoice before him and throw upon each other the squash of the feast. Then God seals them with his own seal. And the great God gives a sealed decision to the god who is to come down. He, moreover, grants him power to do all things according to his own will. God prefers doing good and charity to fasting and praying. The worship of any idol, such as Seyed-ad-Dîn or Šeiḡ Šams is better than fasting. Some layman is to give a banquet to a *kôchak* after the fasting of the latter 40 days, whether it be in summer or in winter. If he (the *kôchak*) says this entertainment is an alms given to the *sanjak*, then he is not released from his fasting. When it comes to pass that the yearly tithe-gatherer finds that the people have not fully paid their tithes, he whips them till they become sick, and some even die. The people are to give the *kôchaks* money to fight the Roman army, and thus save the sect (Yezidis) from the wrath of the man of the year.

Every Friday a load of gifts is to be brought as an offering to an idol. At that time, a servant is to call the people aloud from the roof of a *kôchak*'s house, saying, it is the call of the prophet to a feast. All are to listen reverently and respectfully; and, on hearing it, every one is to kiss the ground and the stone on which he happens to lean.

It is our law that no *kawwâl* shall pass a razor over his face. Our law regarding marriage is that at the time of the wedding a loaf of bread shall be taken from the house of a *kôchak* and be divided between the bride and the bridegroom, each to eat one-half. They may, however, eat some dust from Šeiḥ 'Adi's tomb instead of the bread for a blessing. Marriage in the month of April is forbidden, for it is the first month of the year. This rule, however, does not apply to *kawwâls*; they may marry during this month. No layman is allowed to marry a *kôchak*'s daughter. Every one is to take a wife from his own class. But our emir may have for a wife any one whom he pleases to love. A layman may marry between the ages of ten and eighty; he may take for a wife one woman after another for a period of one year. On her way to the house of the bridegroom, a bride must visit the shrine of every idol she may happen to pass; even if she pass a Christian church, she must do the same. On her arrival at the bridegroom's house, he must hit her with a small stone in token of the fact that she must be under his authority. Moreover, a loaf of bread must be broken over her head as a sign to her that she must love the poor and needy. No Yezidi may sleep with his wife on the night the morning of which is Wednesday, and the night the morning of which is Friday. Whosoever does contrary to this commandment is an infidel. If a man steal the wife of his neighbor, or his own former wife, or her sister or mother, he is not obliged to give her dowry, for she is the booty of his hand. Daughters may not inherit their father's wealth. A young lady may be sold as an acre of land is sold. If she refuses to be married, then she must redeem herself by paying her father a sum of money earned by her service and the labor of her hand.

Here ends Kitâb Reş, which is followed by several stories, some of which are told secretly, some openly.

APPENDIX

They say our hearts are our books, and our šeiḥs tell us everything from the second Adam until now and the future. When they notice the sun rise, they kiss the place where the rays first fall; they do the same at sunset, where its rays last fall. Likewise they kiss the spot where the moon first casts its rays and where it last casts them. They think, moreover, that by the multiplication of presents to šeiḥs and idols they keep troubles and afflictions away.

There is a great difference among the *kôchaks*; they contradict one another. Some say, "Melek Tâ'us appears to me and reveals to me many revelations." Others say, "We appear to people in many different ways." Some believe that Christ is Šeiḥ Šams himself. They say that they have had prophets in all times; the *kôchaks* are the prophets. One of the *kôchaks* says in one of his prophecies: "I was in Jonah's ship, where a lot was cast in my presence. It fell on Jonah; and he was thrown into the sea, where he remained forty days and nights." Another said: "I was sitting with the great God, who said 'I hope the time will come when I shall send Christ to the world.' I said to him, 'Yes.' Then he sent him. After making a sign in the sun, Christ came down to the earth." He appeared to our sect only, and made for us seven circles, which are at Šeiḥ 'Adî. Now he appeared to us because we observe the necessary order, which the other sects do not observe. Their origin and race are unknown; ours are known. We are emirs and sons of emirs; we are šeiḥs and sons of šeiḥs; we are *kôchaks* and sons of *kôchaks*, etc. But Christians and Moslems make priests and mullas for themselves out of those who had none of their kindred in those offices before, and never will have afterward. We are better than they. We are allowed to drink wine; our young men also may desire it when they, in company with women, engage in religious dancing and playing. Some of the *kôchaks* and šeiḥs, however, are not allowed to drink it. When one is about to die, he is visited by a *kôchak*, who places a bit of Šeiḥ 'Adî's dust in his mouth. Before he is buried his face is anointed with it. Moreover, the dung of sheep is placed on his tomb. Finally, food is offered on behalf of the dead. The *kôchaks* pray for the dead at the graves, for which

service they are paid. They tell the relatives of the dead what they see in dreams and visions, and the condition of their dead, whether they have been translated to the human or to the animal race. Some people hide silver or gold coins that they plan to take out in case they are born the second time in this world. Some believe that the spirits of many righteous persons travel in the air. Those spirits make revelations to the *kôchaks*, who are acquainted with the world of mysteries and secrets. Life and death are in their hands. Hence the fate of the people depends on the gratitude and honor which they show the *kôchaks*. According to Yezidis, hell has no existence. It was created in the time of the first Adam, they say, when our father, Ibrîk al-Aşfar, was born.⁶⁸ By reason of his generosity and noble deeds, Ibrîk had many friends. Now, when he viewed hell he became very sad. He had a small *bağbûk aşfar*,⁶⁹ into which, as he kept weeping, his tears fell. In seven years it was filled. He then cast it into hell, and all its fires were put out that mankind might not be tortured. This incident relates to one of the noble deeds of our first father, Ibrîk-al-Aşfar. They have many more such upright men of noble deeds. Such an one is Mohammed Raşân, whose resting-place is behind the mount of Şeiğ Mattie.⁷⁰ He (Raşân) is exceedingly strong, so that the most sacred oaths are sworn by him. If any one becomes sick, he takes refuge in making vows to *hasin*, i. e., pillars of idols. Now there is a place of religious pilgrimage which is called Sitt Nafisah. This place is a mulberry tree in the village of Ba'aşıka. Another such place is called 'Abdi Raşân, and is in the village of K̄arabek. A third place of pilgrimage is in the village of Bahzanie, which is called Şeiğ Bakû. Nearby is a spring, and beside this is a mulberry tree. Whoever is afflicted with fever, goes to that tree, hangs on its branches a piece of cloth from his clothes, and casts bread in the spring for the fish. All this he does that he may be cured. They entertain the belief that whoever unties or shakes off one of the shreds of cloth will catch the disease with which the man was afflicted when he hung it up. There are many such trees in the village of Ba'aşıka, and in some other places. There is also a spring of water, called in the common language 'Ain aş-Şafra (Yellow

Spring). The Yezidis call it Kanî-Zarr.⁷¹ In this swim those who are afflicted with the disease of *abû-şafar* (jaundice). But those who are troubled with dropsy go for cure to the house of the Pir that lives in the village of Man Reş.

When they assemble at Şeiḥ 'Adî's, no one is allowed to cook anything. Everyone is to eat from Şeiḥ 'Adî's table. As to the *kôchaks*, every one of them sits on a stone, as one sits in prayer. To them the laity go, seeking succor. They give them money while making their petition, and vow to the stone on which the *kôchak* sits sheep and oxen, everyone according to his means. Now, at the New Year the places are given in contract. When they assemble at the New Year, they dance and play with instruments of joy. Before eating the *kabdûş*, i. e., the vowed ox, they swim in the water of Zamzam, a spring coming from beneath the temple of Şeiḥ 'Adî. Then they eat in haste, snatching meat from the pot like fanatics, so that their hands are frequently burned. This practice is in accordance with their rules. After eating, they go up the mountain, shooting with their guns, and then return to Şeiḥ 'Adî. Everyone of them takes a little dust and preserves it for the times of wedding and death. They wear entwined girdles which they call the ties of the back (belt). They baptize these and the *sanjak*s with the water of Zamzam. He who is called Jawiṣ⁷² wears a stole which is woven from the hair of a goat. It is nine spans in length and around it are *sansûls* (tinsels).

When the gathering comes to an end, they collect the money from the *kôchaks* and the contractors, and bring it to the emir. After everyone has taken according to his rank, the remainder goes to the emir.

They have another gathering which takes place at the feast of Al-Hijâjj. At this pilgrimage they go up to the mountain which is called Jabal al-'Arafât.⁷³ After remaining there an hour, they hasten toward Şeiḥ 'Adî. He who arrives there before his companions is praised much. Hence everyone tries to excel. The one who succeeds receives abundant blessings.

They still have another assembly. This is called "the road of the *kôchaks*," when each, putting a rope around his neck, goes up

the mountain. After collecting wood they bring it to Šeiḥ 'Adī, carrying it on their backs. The wood is used for heating purposes and for the emir's cooking.

During these assemblies the *sanjak*s are passed around. In the first place they are washed with water made sour with sumac in order to be cleansed from their rust. The water is given away in drinks for purposes of blessing. In return money is taken. In the second place, the *kôchaks* go around with the *sanjak*s to collect money.

In their preaching, the šeiḥs tell the people that all kings have come from their descent, such as Nisroch,⁷⁴ who is Nasr-ad-Dīn, and Kamuš who is Faḥr ad-Dīn, and Artâmīs, who is Šams ad-Dīn, and many others, as Shabur and Yoram; and many royal names of the ancient kings, together with their own (Yezidi) kings, are from their seed. The sign of the Yezidi is that he wears a shirt with a round bosom. It differs from that of the other people, the bosom of whose shirts are open all the way down.

There is one occasion when no Yezidi will swear falsely, viz., when one draws a circle on the ground, and tells him that this circle belongs to Ṭā'us-Melek, Šeiḥ 'Adī, and Yezīd, and *bary-shabaḳei*.⁷⁵ He places him in the middle of the circle, and then tells him that Melek Ṭā'us and all those who were mentioned above will not intercede for him after his death, and that the shirt of the Jewish Nasim⁷⁶ be on his neck, and that the hand of Nasim be on his neck and eye, and that Nasim be his brother for the next world, and let him be to him for a šeiḥ and a *pīr* if he does not tell the truth. Then if he swears to tell the truth, he cannot conceal anything. For an oath made under such conditions is considered greater than that made in the name of God, and even than that made in the name of one of their prophets.

They fast three days in a year from morning till evening. The fast falls in December, according to the oriental calendar. They have no prayer⁷⁷ except what is mentioned above, such as that referring to the sun and the moon, and asking help from šeiḥs and holy places when they say, "O Šeiḥ 'Adī, O Šeiḥ Šams," and the like. They are all forbidden to teach their children anything,

with the exception of two stanzas which they teach their children out of necessity and because it is traditional.

A story is told about them by reliable people. Once when Šeiḥ Naşir was preaching in a village at Mount Sinjar, there was a Christian mason in the audience who, seeing the house filled with people, thought they were going to pray. He then pretended to take a nap, that he might amuse himself with what he should hear. He knew the Kurdish language. When the Christian seemed to be asleep, but was really awake and listening, Šeiḥ Naşir began to preach saying: "Once the great God appeared to me in vision. He was angry at Jesus because of a dispute with him. He therefore caught him and imprisoned him in a den which had no water. Before the mouth of the den he placed a great stone. Jesus remained in the den a long time, calling upon the prophets and the saints for help and asking their aid. Every one whose succor Jesus asked went to beg the great God to release him. But God did not grant their requests. Jesus therefore remained in a sorrowful state, knowing not what to do." After this the preacher remained silent for a quarter of an hour, and thus a great silence prevailed in the house. Then he went on to say: "O poor Jesus, why are you so forgotten, so neglected? Do you not know that all the prophets and all the saints have no favor with the great God like unto Melek Ṭā'us? Why have you forgotten him and have not called upon him?" Saying this, the preacher again remained silent as before. Afterward he again continued: "Jesus remained in the den till one day when he happened to remember Melek Ṭā'us. He then sought his aid, praying, 'O Melek Ṭā'us, I have been in this den for some time. I am imprisoned; I have sought the help of all the saints, and none of them could deliver me. Now, save me from this den.' When Melek Ṭā'us heard this, he descended from heaven to earth quicker than the twinkling of an eye, removed the stone from the top of the den, and said to Jesus, 'Come up, behold I have brought thee out.' Then both went up to heaven. When the great God saw Jesus, he said to him, 'O Jesus, who brought thee out of the den? Who brought thee here without my permission?' Jesus answered and said, 'Melek Ṭā'us brought me out of

the den and up here.' Then God said, 'Had it been another, I would have punished him, but Melek Tâ'us is much beloved by me; remain here for the sake of my honor.' So Jesus remained in heaven." The preacher added, "Notice that those who are without do not like Melek Tâ'us. Know ye that in the resurrection he will not like them either, and he will not intercede for them. But, as for us, he will put us all in a tray, carry us upon his head, and take us into heaven, while we are in the tray on his head." When the congregation heard this, they rose up, kissed his clothes and feet, and received his blessing.

Now the views of the Yezidis regarding the birth of Christ and the explanation of the name of the Apostle Peter, are found in one of their stories, which runs thus: "Verily Mary the Virgin mother of Jesus, begat Jesus in a manner unlike the rest of women. She begat him from her right side,⁷⁸ between her clothes and her body. At that time the Jews had a custom that, if a woman gave birth, all her relatives and neighbors would bring her presents. The women would call, carrying in their right hand a plate of fruits which were to be found in that season, and in the left hand they would carry a stone. This custom was a very ancient one. Therefore when Mary the Virgin gave birth to Jesus, the wife of Jonah, who is the mother of Peter, came to her; and, according to the custom, carried a plate of fruit in her right hand and a stone in her left. As she entered and gave Mary the plate, behold, the stone which was in her left hand begat a male. She called his name Simon Cifa, that is, son of the stone. Christians do not know these things as we do."

They have a story explaining the word heretic. It is this: When the great God created the heavens, he put all the keys of the treasures and the mansions therein in the hands of Melek Tâ'us, and commanded him not to open a certain mansion. But he, without the knowledge of God, opened the house and found a piece of paper on which was written, "Thou shalt worship thy God alone, and him alone shalt thou serve." He kept the paper with him and allowed no one else to know about it. Then God created an iron ring and hung it in the air between the heaven and the earth. Afterward he created Adam the first. Melek

Ṭā'us refused to worship Adam when God commanded him to do so. He showed the written paper which he took from the mansion and said, "See what is written here." Then the great God said, "It may be that you have opened the mansion which I forbade you to open." He answered, "Yes." Then God said to him, "You are a heretic, because you have disobeyed me and transgressed my commandment."

From this we know that God speaks in the Kurdish language, that is, from the meaning of this saying, "Go into the iron ring which I, thy God, have made for whosoever does contrary to my commandment and disobeys me."

When one criticizes such a story as this by saying that God drove Melek Ṭā'us from heaven and sent him to hell because of his pride before God the most high, they do not admit that such is the case. They answer: "Is it possible that one of us in his anger should drive out his child from his house and let him wait until the next day before bringing him back? Of course not. Similar is the relation of the great God to Melek Ṭā'us. Verily he loves him exceedingly. You do not understand the books which you read. The Gospel says, 'No one ascended up to heaven but he who came down from heaven.' No one came down from heaven but Melek Ṭā'us and Christ. From this we know that the great God has been reconciled to Melek Ṭā'us, who went up to heaven, just as Christ came down from heaven and went up again."

The following is a story told of a *kôchak*: It is related that at one time there was no rain in the village of Ba'aşıka. In this village there was a Yezidi whose name was Kôchak Berû. There were also some saints and men of vision dwelling there. They (people) gathered to ask Berû to see about the rain. He told them, "Wait till tomorrow that I may see about it." They came to him on the next day and said, "What have you done concerning the question of rain? We are exceedingly alarmed by reason of its being withheld." He answered: "I went up to heaven last night and entered into the divan where the great God, Şeîḥ 'Adî, and some other şeîḥs and righteous men were sitting. The priest Isaac was sitting beside God. The great God said to me, 'What

do you want, O Kôchak Berû; why have you come here?' I said to him, 'My lord, this year the rain has been withheld from us till now, and all thy servants are poor and needy. We beseech thee to send us rain as thy wont.' He remained silent and answered me not. I repeated the speech twice and thrice, beseeching him. Then I turned to the *šeihs* who sat there, asking their help and intercession. The great God answered me, 'Go away until we think it over.' I came down and do not know what took place after I descended from heaven. You may go to the priest Isaac and ask him what was said after I came down." They went to the priest and told him the story, and asked him what was said after Kôchak Berû came down. This priest Isaac was a great joker. He answered them, "After the *kôchak* came down, I begged God for rain on your behalf. It was agreed that after six or seven days he would send it." They waited accordingly, and by a strange coincidence, at the end of the period it rained like a flood for some time. Seeing this, the people believed in what they were told, and honored the priest Isaac, looking upon him as one of the saints, and thinking that he must have Yezidi blood in him. For more than twenty years this story has been told as one of the tales of their saints.

Once Šeiḥ 'Adî bn Musâfir and his *murids* were entertained by God in heaven. When they arrived, they did not find straw for their animals. Therefore Šeiḥ 'Adî ordered his *murids* to carry straw from his threshing floor on the earth. As it was being transported, some fell on the way, and has remained as a sign in heaven unto our day. It is known as the road of the straw man.

They think that prayer is in the heart; therefore they do not teach their children about it. And in their books neither is there any rule regarding prayer, nor is prayer considered a religious obligation.

Some assert that at one time Šeiḥ 'Adî, in company with Šeiḥ 'Abd-al-Ḳâdir, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he remained four years. After his absence Melek Ṭâ'us appeared to them (the two *šeihs*) in his symbol. He dictated some rules to them and taught them many things. Then he was hidden from them. Four

years later Šeiḥ 'Adī returned from Mecca; but they refused him and would not accept him. They asserted that he had died or ascended to heaven. He remained with them, but was without his former respect. When the time of his death came, Melek Ṭā'us appeared to them and declared, "This is Šeiḥ 'Adī himself, honor him." Then they honored him and buried him with due veneration, and made his tomb a place of pilgrimage. In their estimation it is a more excellent spot than Mecca. Everyone is under obligation to visit it once a year at least; and, in addition to this, they give a sum of money through the šeiḥs to obtain satisfaction (that Šeiḥ 'Adī may be pleased with them). Whoever does this not is disobedient.

Moreover, it is said that the reason why the pilgrimage to his tomb is regarded as excellent by us and by God is that in the resurrection Šeiḥ 'Adī will carry in a tray all the Yezidis upon his head and take them into paradise, without requiring them to give account or answer. Therefore they regard the pilgrimage to his tomb as a religious duty greater than the pilgrimage to Mecca.

There are some domes, huts, around the tomb of Šeiḥ 'Adī. They are there for the purpose of receiving blessings from the tomb. And they are all attributed to the great Šeiḥs, as the hut of 'Abd-al-Ḳādir-al-Jilāni;⁷⁹ the hut of Šeiḥ Ḳadīb-al-Bān; the hut of Šeiḥ Šams-ad-Dīn; the hut of Šeiḥ Maṣṣūr-al-Ḥallāj, and the hut of Šeiḥ Ḥasan-al-Baṣrī. There are also some other huts. Each hut has a banner made of calico. It is a sign of conquest and victory.

Eating of deer's meat is forbidden them, they say, because the deer's eyes resemble the eyes of Šeiḥ 'Adī. Verily his virtues are well-known and his praiseworthy qualities are traditions handed down from generation to generation. He was the first to accept the Yezidi religion. He gave them the rules of the religious sect and founded the office of the šeiḥ. In addition to this, he was renowned for his devotion and religious exercise. From Mount Lališ, he used to hear the preaching of 'Abd-al-Ḳādir-al-Jilāni in Bagdad. He used to draw a circle on the ground and say to the religious ones, "Whosoever wants to hear the preaching of

Al-Jilani, let him enter within this circle." The following custom, which we have, began with him: If we wish to swear to anyone, a *šeiḥ* draws a circle, and he who is to take an oath, enters into it.

At one time, passing by a garden, *Šeiḥ 'Adī* asked about lettuce; and, as no one answered, he said, "Huss" (hush). For this reason lettuce is forbidden and not eaten.

As regards fasting, they say about the month of Ramaḍān that it was dumb and deaf. Therefore, when God commanded the Moslems to fast, he likewise commanded the Yezidis, saying to them in the Kurdish language, "*sese*," meaning "three." The Mohammedans did not understand it; they took it for "*se*," "thirty." For this reason, they (Yezidis) fast three days. Moreover, they believe there are eating, drinking, and other earthly pleasures in the next world.⁸⁰ Some hold that the rule of heaven is in God's hands, but the rule of the earth is in *Šeiḥ 'Adī's* hands. Being exceedingly beloved by God, he bestowed upon him according to 'Adī's desire.

They believe in the transmigration of souls. This is evinced by the fact that when the soul of *Maṣṣūr-al-Ḥallāj* parted from his body when the Caliph of Baḡdad killed him and cast his head into the water, his soul floated on the water. By a wonderful chance and a strange happening, the sister of the said *Maṣṣūr* went to fill her jar. The soul of her brother entered it. Without knowing what had happened, she came with it to the house. Being tired, she felt thirsty and drank from the jar. At that moment the soul of her brother entered her, but she did not perceive it until she became pregnant. She gave birth to a son who resembled *Šeiḥ Maṣṣūr* himself. He became her brother according to birth and her son according to imputation. The reason why they do not use drinking-vessels which have narrow mouths, or a net-like cover, is that when one drinks water from them they make a sound. When the head of *Šeiḥ Maṣṣūr* was thrown into the water it gurgled. In his honor they do not use the small jars with narrow necks.

They assert that they expect a prophet who will come from Persia to annul the law of Mohammed and abrogate Islam. They

believe that there are seven gods, and that each god administers the universe for ten thousand years; and that one of these gods is Lasiferos; the chief of the fallen angels, who bears also the name Melek Ṭā'us. They make him a graven image after the form of a cock⁸¹ and worship it. They play the tambourine and dance before it to make it rejoice with them. They (*ḵawwāls*) travel within the Yezidis' villages to collect money, at which time they take it into the houses that it may bless and honor them. Some say that Šeiḥ 'Adī is a deity; others that he is like a Vizier to God. To him all things are referred. This is the Melek Ṭā'us age. The ruling and administrative power is in his hands until the thousandth year. When the time comes to an end he will deliver the power to the next god to rule and administer until another thousand years shall be ended, and so on until the seventh god. And yet there is accord and love among these gods, and none is jealous of the one who may rule and administer the world for a period of ten thousand years. They have a book named *Al Jilwah* that they ascribe to Šeiḥ 'Adī, and they suffer no one who is not one of them to read it.

Mention is made in some of their books that the First Cause is the Supreme God, who before he created this world, was enjoying himself over the seas;⁸² and in his hand was a great White Pearl, with which he was playing. Then he resolved to cast it into the sea, and when he did so this world came into being.

Moreover, they think themselves not to be of the same seed from which the rest of mankind sprung, but that they are begotten of the son of Adam, who was born to Adam of his spittle. For this reason they imagine themselves nobler and more pleasing to the gods than others.

They say they have taken fasting and sacrifice from Islam; baptism from Christians; prohibition of foods from the Jews; their way of worship from the idolaters; dissimulation of doctrine from the Rafiḍis (Shi'ites); human sacrifice and transmigration from the pre-Islamic paganism of the Arabs and from the Sabians. They say that when the spirit of man goes forth from his body, it enters into another man if it be just; but if unjust, into an animal.

THE POEM IN PRAISE OF ŠEIḤ 'ADÎ

Peace Be unto Him

1. My understanding surrounds the truth of things,
2. And my truth is mixed up in me,
3. And the truth of my descent is set forth by itself,
4. And when it was known it was altogether in me.
5. And all that are in the universe are under me,
6. And all the habitable parts and deserts,
7. And everything created is under me,
8. And I am the ruling power preceding all that exists.
9. And I am he that spoke a true saying,
10. And I am the just judge and the ruler of the earth.
11. And I am he that men worship in my glory,
12. Coming to me and kissing my feet.
13. And I am he that spread over the heavens their height.
14. And I am he that cried in the beginning.
15. And I am he that of myself revealeth all things,
17. And I am he to whom came the book of good tidings
18. From my Lord, who burneth the mountains.
19. And I am he to whom all created men come
20. In obedience to kiss my feet.
21. I bring forth fruit from the first juice of early youth
22. By my presence, and turn toward me my disciples.
23. And before this light the darkness of the morning cleared away.
24. I guide him that asketh for guidance.
25. I am he that caused Adam to dwell in Paradise
26. And Nimrod to inhabit a hot burning fire.
27. And I am he that guided Aḥmed the Just,
28. And let him into my path and way.
29. And I am he unto whom all creatures
30. Come for my good purposes and gifts.
31. And I am he that visited all the heights,
32. And goodness and charity proceed from my mercy.
33. And I am he that made all hearts to fear
34. My purpose, and they magnify the majesty and power of my awfulness.
35. And I am he to whom the destroying lion came
36. Raging, and I shouted against him and he became stone.
37. And I am he to whom the serpent came,
38. And by my will I made him dust.
39. And I am he that struck the rock and made it tremble,

40. And made to burst from its sides the sweetest of waters.
41. And I am he that sent down the certain truth;
42. For me is the book that comforteth the oppressed.
43. And I am he that judged justly,
44. And when I judged it was my right.
45. And I am he that made the springs⁸³ to give water,
46. Sweeter and pleasanter than all waters.
47. And I am he that caused it to appear in my mercy,
48. And by my power I called it the pure.
49. And I am he to whom the Lord of heaven hath said,
50. Thou art the just Judge and Ruler of the earth.
51. And I am he that disclosed some of my wonders,
52. And some of my virtues are manifested in that which exists.
53. And I am he that caused the mountains to bow,
54. To move under me and at my will.⁸⁴
55. And I am he before whose majesty the wild beasts cried;
56. They turned to me worshiping, and kissed my feet.
57. And I am 'Adi aš-Šāmī, the son of Musāfir.
58. Verily the All-Merciful has assigned unto me names,
59. The heavenly throne, and the seat, and the (seven) heavens, and the earth.
60. In the secret of my knowledge there is no God but me.
61. These things are subservient to my power.
62. O mine enemies, why do you deny me?
63. O men, deny me not, but submit.
64. In the day of judgment you will be happy in meeting me.
65. Who dies in my love, I will cast him
66. In the midst of Paradise, by my will and pleasure;
67. But he that dies unmindful of me
68. Will be thrown into torture in misery and affliction.
69. I say I am the only one and the exalted;
70. I create and make rich those whom I will.
71. Praise be to myself, for all things are by my will,
72. And the universe is lighted by some of my gifts.
73. I am the king that magnifies himself,
74. And all the riches of creation are at my bidding.
75. I have made known unto you, O people, some of my ways.
76. Who desireth me must forsake the world.
77. And I can also speak the true saying,
78. And the garden on high is for those who do my pleasure.
79. I sought the truth and became a confirming truth;
80. And by the like truth shall they, like myself, possess the highest place.

THE PRINCIPAL PRAYER OF THE YEZIDIS

1. Amen, Amen, Amen!
2. Through the intermediation of Šams-ad-Dîn,
3. Fahr ad-Dîn, Naşir-ad-Dîn
4. Sajad ad-Dîn, Šeiḥ Sin (Ḥusein),
5. Šeiḥ Bakr, Qâdir ar-Raḥmân.
6. Lord, thou art gracious, thou art merciful;
7. Thou art God, king of kings and lands,
8. King of joy and happiness,
9. King of good possession (eternal life).
10. From eternity thou art eternal.
11. Thou art the seat of luck (happiness) and life;
12. Thou art lord of grace and good luck.
13. Thou art king of jinns and human beings,
14. King of the holy men (saints),
15. Lord of terror and praise,
16. The abode of religious duty and praise,
17. Worthy of praise and thanks.
18. Lord! Protector in journeys,
19. Sovereign of the moon and of the darkness,
20. God of the sun and of the fire,
21. God of the great throne,
22. Lord of goodness.
23. Lord! No one knows how thou art.
24. Thou hast no beauty; thou hast no height.
25. Thou hast no going forth; thou hast no number.
26. Lord! Judge of kings and beggars,
27. Judge of society and of the world,
28. Thou hast revealed the repentance of Adam.
29. Lord, thou hast no house; thou hast no money;
30. Thou hast no wings, hast no feathers;
31. Thou hast no voice, thou hast no color.
32. Thou hast made us lucky and satisfied.
33. Thou hast created Jesus and Mary.
34. Lord, thou art gracious,
35. Merciful, faithful.
36. Thou art Lord; I am nothingness.
37. I am a fallen sinner,
38. A sinner by thee remembered.
39. Thou hast led us out of darkness into light.
40. Lord! My sin and my guilt,
41. Take them and remove them.
42. O God, O God, O God, Amen!

They are divided into seven classes, and each class has functions peculiar to itself that cannot be discharged by any of the other classes. They are:

1. Šeiḥ. He is the servant of the tomb, and a descendant of Imam Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. No one can give a legal decision or sign any document except the šeiḥ who is the servant of Šeiḥ 'Adī's tomb. He has a sign by which he is distinguished from others. The sign is a belt which he puts on his body, and net-like gloves, which resemble the halters of camels. If he goes among his people, they bow down and pay him their respects. The šeiḥs sell a place in paradise to anyone who wishes to pay money.

2. Emir. The emirship specifically belongs to the descendants of Yezīd. They have a genealogical tree, preserved from their fathers and forefathers, which goes up to Yezīd himself. The emirs have charge of the temporal and governmental affairs, and have the right to say, "Do this and do not that."

3. Ḳawwāl. He has charge of tambourines and flutes and religious hymns.

4. Pīr. To him appertain the conduct of fasts, the breaking of fasts, and hair-dressing.

5. Kôchak. To him appertain the duties of religious instruction, and sepulture, and interpretation of dreams, i. e., prophecy.

6. Faḳīr. To him appertain the duties of instruction of boys and girls in playing on the tambourines, in dancing and religious pleasure. He serves Šeiḥ 'Adī.

7. Mulla. To him appertain the duties of instructing children. He guards the books and the mysteries of religion and attends to the affairs of the sect.

At one time (A. H. 1289; A. D. 1872), the Ottoman power wanted to draft from among them an army instead of taking the tax which was its due. They presented to the government all the rules that prevented them from complying. These all pertain to religion and are moral obligations upon them. They are as follows:

ARTICLE I

According to our Yezidi religion every member of our sect, whether big or little, girl or woman, must visit Melek Ṭā'us three times a year,

that is, first, from the beginning to the last of the month of April, Roman calendar; secondly, from the beginning to the end of the month of September; thirdly, from the beginning to the end of the month of November. If anyone visit not the image of Melek Tâ'us, he is an infidel.

ARTICLE II

If any member of our sect, big or little, visit not his highness Šeiḥ 'Adi bn Musâfir—may God sanctify his mysteries! once a year, i. e., from the fifteenth to the twentieth of the month of September, Roman calendar, he is an infidel according to our religion.

ARTICLE III

Every member of our sect must visit the place of the sunrise every day when it appears, and there should not be Moslem, nor Christian, nor any one else in that place. If any one do this not, he is an infidel.

ARTICLE IV

Every member of our sect must daily kiss the hand of his brother, his brother of the next world, namely, the servant of the Mahdi, and the hand of his šeiḥ or *pîr*. If any one do this not, he is regarded as an infidel.

ARTICLE V

According to our religion it is something intolerable when the Moslem in the morning begins to say in prayer, God forbid! "I take refuge in God, etc."⁸⁵ If any one of us hear it, he must kill the one who says it and kill himself; otherwise he becomes an infidel.

ARTICLE VI

When one of our sect is on the point of death, if there be no brother of the next world and his šeiḥ, or his *pîr* and one of the *ḵawwâls* with him to say three sayings over him, viz.: "O servant of Melek Tâ'us, whose ways are high, you must die in the religion of the one we worship, who is Melek Tâ'us, whose ways are high, and do not die in any other religion than his. And if some one should come and say to you something from the Mohammedan religion, or Christian religion, or Jewish religion, or some other religion, do not believe him, and do not follow him. And if you believe and follow another religion than that of the one we worship, Melek Tâ'us, you shall die an infidel," he becomes an infidel.

ARTICLE VII

We have something called the blessing of Šeiḥ 'Adi, that is, the dust of the tomb of Šeiḥ 'Adi—may God sanctify his mystery! Every member of our sect must have some of it with him in his pocket and eat of it every morning. And if he eat not of it intentionally, he is an infidel. Likewise

at the time of death, if he possess not some of that dust intentionally, he dies an infidel.

ARTICLE VIII

Regarding our fasting, if any one of our sect wish to fast, he must fast in his own place, not in another. For while fasting he must go every morning to the house of his *šeih* and his *pîr*, and there he must begin to fast; and when he breaks his fast, likewise, he must go to the house of his *šeih* and his *pîr*, and there break the fast by drinking the holy wine of the *šeih* or the *pîr*. And if he drink not two or three glasses of that wine, his fasting is not acceptable, and he becomes an infidel.

ARTICLE IX

If one of our sect go to another place and remain there as much as one year, and afterward return to his place, then his wife is forbidden him, and none of us will give him a wife. If anyone give him a wife, that one is an infidel.

ARTICLE X

Regarding our dress, as we have mentioned in the fourth Article that every one of our sect has a brother for the next world, he has also a sister for the next world.⁸⁶ Therefore if any one of us make for himself a new shirt, it is necessary that his sister for the next world should open its neck band, i. e., the neck band of that shirt, with her hand. And if she open it not with her hand, and he wear it, then he is an infidel.

ARTICLE XI

If some one of our sect make a shirt or a new dress, he cannot wear it without baptizing it in the blessed water which is to be found at the shrine of his highness *Šeih 'Adi*—may God sanctify his mystery! If he wear it, he is an infidel.

ARTICLE XII

We may not wear a light black dress at all. We may not comb our heads with the comb of a Moslem or a Christian or a Jew or any other. Nor may we shave our heads with the razor used by any other than ourselves (Yezidis), except it be washed in the blessed water which is to be found at the shrine of his highness *Šeih 'Adi*. Then it is lawful for us to shave our heads. But if we shave our heads without the razor having been washed in that water, we become infidels.

ARTICLE XIII

No Yezidi may enter the water-closet of a Moslem, or take a bath at a Moslem's house, or eat with a Moslem spoon, or drink from a Moslem's cup, from a cup used by any one of another sect. If he does, he is an infidel.⁸⁷

ARTICLE XIV

Concerning food, there is a great difference between us and the other sects. We do not eat meat of fish, squash, *bamia* (okra), *fasulia* (beans), cabbage, or lettuce. We cannot even dwell in the place where lettuce is sown.⁸⁸

For these and other reasons, we cannot enter the military service, etc. The names of those who affixed their signatures:

THE HEAD OF THE YEZIDI SECT, THE EMIR OF ŠEİHÂN,
ḤUSEIN.

THE RELIGIOUS ŠEİḤ OF THE YEZIDI SECT OF THE DISTRICT
OF ŠEİHÂN, ŠEİḤ NAŞIR.

THE CHIEF ŠEİḤ OF THE VILLAGE OF MAM REŞÂN, PİR
SULEIMAN.

THE VILLAGE CHIEF OF MUSKÂN, MURAD.

“ “ “ “ ḤATÂRAH, AYYÜB.

“ “ “ “ BEİBÂN, ḤUSEIN.

“ “ “ “ DAḤKÂN, ḤASSAN.

“ “ “ “ ḤUZRÂN, NU'MÔ.

“ “ “ “ BÂKASRA, 'ALI.

“ “ “ “ BÂ' AŞİKA, JAMÔ.

“ “ “ “ ḤÔŞÂBA, ILIAS.

“ “ “ “ KREPAḤIN, SAĞD.

“ “ “ “ KÂBÂREH, KÔCHAK.

“ “ “ “ KASÔ.

“ “ “ “ SİNÂ, 'ABDÔ.

“ “ “ “ 'AIN SIFNI, GURGÔ.

“ “ “ “ KÂSR-'IZZ-AD-DİN.

“ “ “ “ ḤEİRÔ.

“ “ “ “ KİBERTÔ, TÂHIR.

AND OTHERS.

These are they whose names were in the petition above mentioned, and from which we copied a few things.

The result was that when they presented this petition, they were exempted from military service, but they paid a tax in money as did the Christians.

NOTES

1. Al-Jilwah is said to have been written in 558 A.H., by ŠeİḤ Faḥr-ad-Dîn, the secretary of ŠeİḤ 'Âdi, at the dictation of the latter. The original copy, wrapped in linen and silk wrappings, is kept in the house of Mulla Ḥaidar, of Baadrie. Twice a year the book is taken to ŠeİḤ 'Âdi's shrine. (Letter from Šammas Jeremia Šamir to Mr. A. N. Andrus, of Mardin, dated October 28, 1892.)

2. The Black Book is said to have been written by a certain Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in 743 A. H. The original copy is kept in the house of Kehyah (chief) 'Ali, of Kasr 'Az-ad-Dīn, one hour west of Semale, a village east of Tigris. The book rests upon a throne, having over it a thin covering of red broadcloth, of linen, and other wrappings. Then is disclosed the binding, which is of wood. (Šammas Jeremia Šamir, as above; A. N. Andrus, letter, dated November 9, 1901.)

3. The exact number of the Yezidis is unknown. See also Société de Géographie de l'Est, *Bulletin*, 1903, p. 284; Al Mašriḳ, II, 834.

4. For a fuller account of the literature on the Yezidis, consult J. Menant, *Les Yézidis*, and Paul Perdrizet, Société de Géographie de l'Est, *Bulletin*, 1903, pp. 281 ff.

5. Société de Géographie de l'Est, *Bulletin*, 1903, p. 297.

6. Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Persia*, pp. 285, 287; Rich, *Residence in Kurdistan*, II, 69; Al Mašriḳ, II, 396; Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, I, 111; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, 439.

7. Michel Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie*, p. 364; Société de Géographie de l'Est, *Bulletin*, 1903, pp. 299, 301; cf. also J. Menant, *Les Yézidis*, pp. 52, 86, 132.

8. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, 1900, II, 148; Victor Dingelstedt, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, XIV, 295; Southgate, *A Tour through Armenia*, II, 317; A. V. Williams Jackson, "Yezidis," in the *New International Encyclopedia*, XVII, 939; Perdrizet, *loc. cit.*, p. 299.

9. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 10, *New International Encyclopedia*, "Yezidis;" Perdrizet, *loc. cit.*

10. Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*; *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, I, "Kurdistan."

11. Société de Géographie de l'Est, *loc. cit.*; *Encyclopedia of Missions*, "Yezidis;" A. V. Williams Jackson, *loc. cit.*

12. On these sects consult Aš-Šahrastānī, I, 86, 89, 100.

13. Not like Mohammed, to whom, according to Moslem belief, the Koran was revealed at intervals.

14. On the Šabians of the Koran, see Baiḍāwī and Zamahšari on *Suras* 2, 59; 5, 73; 22, 17.

15. On the Šabians of Ḥarrān see Fihrist, p. 190; on the Šabians in general consult Aš-Šahrastānī, II, 203; on the location of Ḥarrān and Wasit, see Yaḳūt, II, 331, and IV, 881.

16. To get more particular information in regard to Yezid bn Unaisa, I wrote to Mosul, Bagdad, and Cairo, the three centers of Mohammedan learning, and strange to say, none could throw any light on the subject.

17. Al-Ḥaraṭiyah he describes as Ašḥāb Al-Ḥareṭ (I, 101), al-Ḥafāziyah, Ašḥāb Ḥafez (*ibid.*), etc.

18. Ibn Ḥallikān says: "Aš-Šahrastānī, a dogmatic theologian of the Ašarite sect, was distinguished as an Imām and a doctor of the law. He displayed the highest abilities as a jurisconsult. The *Kitāb al-Milal wa-n-Nihal* (this is the book in which Aš-Šahrastānī traces the Yezidi sect to Yezīd bn Unaisa) is one of his works on scholastic theology. He remained without an equal in that branch of science."

19. It is to be noticed also that the name "Unaisa" is very common among the Arabs; cf. Ibn Sa'ad (ed. Sachau), III, 254, 260, 264, 265, 281, 283, 287, 289; Musnad, VI, 434; Mishkat, 22, 724.

20. Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, kindly examined the manuscript on this point.

21. *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, p. 195.

22. Ibn Ḥallikān (Egyptian edit., A. H. 1310), I, 316; Mohammed al-'Omari, al-Mauṣili, and Yāsīn al-Ḥātīb al-'Omari al-Mauṣili, "Šeiḥ 'Adī," quoted by M. N. Siouffi, *Journal asiatique*, 1885, 80; Yaḳūt, IV, 374.

23. 'Itīqād Ahl as-Sunna, "Belief of the Sunnites," the Waṣaya, "Counsels to the Califs;" cf. C. Huart, *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 273.

24. See p. 239 of this paper.

25. Aš-Šahrastānī regards them a Ḥarijīte sub-sect.

26. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, 254.

27. Mohammed al-'Omari al-Mauṣili and Yāsīn al-Ḥātīb al-'Omari al-Mauṣili, "Šeiḥ 'Adī," quoted by M. N. Siouffi, *Journal asiatique*, Série viii, V (1885), 80.

28. George Warda, Bishop of Arbila, *Poems*, edited by Heinrich Hilgenfeld, Leipzig, 1904.

29. Such as their ceremonies at Šeiḥ 'Adī (Badger, *The Nestorians*, I, 117), which have obtained for them the name Cheraḡ Sonderan, "The Extinguishers of Light." Bar Hebraeus (*Chronicon Eccles.*, ed. Abeloos-Lamy, I, 219) speaks of similar practices among what he calls "Borborians," a branch of the Manichaeans, and calls them مُخْضِمَاتُ الْبُزْجِ, "The Extinguishers of Light." This name is applied to other eastern sects also; see *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, V, 124.

30. Professor Jackson, of Columbia University, seems to trace it to the "old devil-worship in Mazanderan" (*JAOS*, XXV, 178). But it is not certain that the Yezidis believe in Melek Ṭā'us as an evil spirit. In the history of religion the god of one people is the devil of another. Asura is a deity in the Rig Veda and an evil spirit only in later Brahman theology. In Islam the gods of heathenism are degraded into jinns, just as the gods of North Semitic heathenism are called šē'īrīm (hairy demons) in Lev. 17:7; or as the gods of Greece and Rome became devils to early Christians. See W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 120; Fihrist, pp. 322, 326.

Professor M. Lidzbarski (*ZDMG*, LI, 592), on the other hand, argues that ʿTā'us is the god Tammuz. His contention is based on the assumption that the word Tā'us must embody an ancient god; that in Fihrist, 322, the god Tāuz تاوز has a feast on the 15th of Tammuz (July); that in Kurdish, the language of the Yezidis, *m* is frequently changed to *w*. This theory also is untenable, for one might guess at any ancient god. The exact form of the name "Tauz" is uncertain (see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 202); the statement that in Kurdish *m* is frequently changed to *w* is not true, if one would set it up as a grammatical rule to explain such phenomena; the Kurdish-speaking people never pronounce Tammuz, "Tauz;" and, finally, in the Yezidi conception of Melek ʿTā'us there are no traces of the notion held respecting Tammuz.

31. Such a state of affairs finds a historical parallel in other religions. Take, for example, Christianity. In it we find that the distinctive characteristics of the founder have been wrapped up in many foreign elements brought in by those who came from other religions.

30.* The whole sentence in which the phrase, جبل الاسود, occurs is not found in Chabot, Parry, the Syriac manuscript which was written by Priest Ishāq and published by Samuel Giamil (Rome, 1900), nor in the Arabic manuscript of Šamir.

The Syrian Malkites called the mountain on which the convent of Mar Elia was built بَدَا اَدَمَلا, "Black Mountain." This mountain is identified by some with the Greek Δούξ (Alixis, XII, 12) and with the Arabic name الدقوس, and the Syriac ܕܥܡܠܐ, which Assemani thinks a corruption of the Arabic term for Jerusalem; see *Journal of Theological Studies*, II, 176-78.¹

31.* The Syriac text of Giamil, Monte Singar, 12, identifies Naumi with Noah.¹

32. وجه is a translation of the Syriac ܥܝܢܐ (πρόσωπον), 'face, person;' cf. Giamil, *loc. cit.*

33. امسكوها واحرقوها. The Syriac text of Chabot (p. 103), the Arabic MS of Šamir (p. 12), and Parry's translation (p. 381), show that it was Noah who caught and burned the serpent.

34. ستجذب امة واحدة وراي. The Syriac text of Chabot (p. 104) reads ܬܬܕܒܪ ܐܡܬܐ ܥܬܕܬܐ ܫܒܐ ܥܕܢܐ, "a nation shall be drawn after you." The Arabic MS of Šamir (p. 12) has منك ستخرج امة ملة, "from thee shall come forth a people and a nation; Parry (*Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, 381) agrees with the reading of Šamir.

¹ By an oversight in the numbering of the notes, 30 and 31 have been repeated; 30* and 31* refer to the Arabic text, p. 124, l. 1, and p. 126, last line, respectively.

47. هرطوقی is Kurdish. هر is imperative singular second person, meaning 'go!' طوقی "into the ring;" the final ī is locative.

47.* لوسیفرس (ملک طالس) is Latin *Lucifer* (Isa. 14:12). The compiler, Dāud Aṣ-Ṣāiḡ, was a Romanized Syrian, and was probably familiar with the Latin Lucifer.

48. A. H. 295 (A. D. 807-8). This is the date of Al-Muḡtadir's accession, who reigned till A. H. 320 (A. D. 932); cf. W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 559.

49. The life of Maṣṣūr-al-Ḥallāj is given in Fihrist (ed. Flügel), p. 190.

50. The life of 'Abd-al-Ḳādir of Jilān is given in Jami's *Nafahat* (ed. Lee), p. 584.

51. The Hakkari country is a dependency of Mosul, and inhabited by Kurds and Nestorians; cf. p. 104. Ibn Ḥauḳal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* (ed. M. J. De Goeje), pp. 143 f.

52. Yaḳūt, IV, 373, calls it Laileš (لیلش), and says that Šeiḥ 'Adi lived there.

53. Presumably Yezīd bn Mu'āwiya, the second caliph in the Omayyid dynasty, who reigned, A. D. 680-83; cf. W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 327.

54. The life of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is given in Ibn Ḥallikān. He is not to be identified with Ḥasan al-Baṣri (died 110 A. H.), who, according to Mohammedan tradition, first pointed the Koran text, with the assistance of Yaḥyā bn Yamar.

55. In Menant's *Yezidis*, 48, the names of these seven angels are somewhat differently given. According to Mohammedan tradition Zazil or Azazil was the original name of the devil.

56. By the "throne" (العرش) here is meant the throne of God, and by the "carpet" (الفرش) the earth; cf. Sura 60:131.

57. According to Moslem belief, wheat was the forbidden fruit; see Baiḍāwī on Sura, ii, 33.

58. Kunsiniyat is an obscure term.

59. 'Ain Sifni is about five miles from Ba'adrie; cf. Layard, *Nineveh*, I, 272.

60. Yaḳūt (III, 158) mentions a similar tradition.

61. These are indications of Mohammedan influence and censorship, for no Yezidi will ever write in his sacred book such words as Šeitān, Sar, etc.

62. That is, those of other religions.

63. Sanjaḳ سنجق is a Turkish word, meaning a banner; it is the name by which the Yezidis generally designate the sacred image of Melek Tā'us.

64. See notes 28 and 39.

* No. 47 is accidentally repeated.

65. The Harranian New Year fell on the first day of April, and on the sixth day they slaughtered an ox and ate it; cf. Fihrist, 322.

66. A similar practice is found among the Parsees of India, who hang a string of leaves across the entrances to their houses at the beginning of every New Year.

67. According to Babylonian mythology, human destiny was decreed on the New Year's day and sealed on the tenth day; cf. the *Hibbert Journal*, V, January, 1907. And according to Talmud (Mišna, Roš hašana, 1:2), New Year's is the most important judgment day, on which all creatures pass for judgment before the Creator. On this day three books are opened, wherein the fate of the wicked, the righteous, and those of the intermediate class are recorded. Hence prayer and works of repentance are performed at the New Year from the first to the tenth days, that an unfavorable decision might be averted; cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, "Penitential Day." R. Akiba says: "On New Year day all men are judged; and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement;" cf. *ibid.*, "Day of Judgment."

68. Ibriḳ al-Ašfar means 'the yellow pitcher.'

69. Baḳbûḳ is a pitcher with a narrow spout.

70. Mar Mattie is a Syrian monastery about seven hours' ride east of Mosul, generally known by the name of Šeiḥ Mattie, in accordance with the general custom of sheltering a Christian saint beneath a Moslem title. Elijah is known as Al-Ḥuder, "the green one." Aphraates was bishop of Šeiḥ Mattie. The church of this monastery is a large building, chiefly interesting as containing the tomb of the great Bar Hebraeus, known as Abu-l-Faraj, who was ordained at Tripolis, and became in 1264 A. D. Metropolitan of Mosul. He lies buried, with his brother Barsom, in the "Beth ẖadišeh (sanctuary) of the church, and over them is placed the inscription: "This is the grave of Mar Gregorias, and of Mar Barsome his brother, the children of the Hebrew, on Mount Elpep" (the Syriac name for Jabal Maḳlûb).

71. *Kani* in Kurdish means a spring; *zarr*, yellow. In Kurdish, as in Persian, the adjective usually follows the modified noun; cf. Tartibi Jadid, Ta'alimi Faresi. *The New Method for Teaching Persian* (in the Turkish language, ed. Kasbar, Constantinople, A. H. 1312), p. 18.

72. Jawiṣ (چاويش) is a Turkish word, signifying a sergent.

73. This ceremony, as well as the names 'Arafat, Zamzam, etc., seems to be a mere copy of the Meccah Pilgrimage. 'Arafât (عرافات) "The Mount of Recognition," is situated twelve miles from Mecca, a place where the pilgrims stay on the ninth day of the day of the pilgrimage, and recite the midday and afternoon prayer. The Mohammedan legend says, that when our first parents forfeited heaven for eating wheat, they were cast down from the Paradise, Adam fell on the Isle of Ceylon, and Eve near

Jiddah (the port of Mecca) in Arabia; and that, after separation of 200 years, Adam was conducted by the Angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being then named 'Arafat, "Recognition."

74. The god Nisroch of Scripture, II Kings 19: 37; Isa. 37: 38.

75. See note 47.

76. A superstitious name signifying an ill omen.

77. That is, public prayers like those of the Mohammedans and of the Christians; cf. Al Mašrik, II, 313.

78. The text has يدها "her hand."

79. While the Yezidis venerate 'Abd al-Ḳādir of Jilān, the Nuṣairis curse him; cf. JAOS, VIII, 274.

80. This belief is taken from Mohammedanism.

81. The Arabs worshiped a deity under the form of a *nasr* (eagle), Aš-Šahrastānī, II, 434; Yaḳūt, IV, 780; *The Syriac Doctrine of Addai* (ed. George Philips), p. 24.

82. Cf. Gen. 1:2, and the Babylonian Creation Epic.

83. That is the spring of Šeiḥ 'Adī.

84. The reference is to Jabal Maḳlūb, which, according to the Yezidi belief, moved from its place near Lališ to enable every Yezidi, wherever he may be, to direct his morning prayers toward the tomb of 'Adī.

85. The Moslem begins his prayer by cursing the devil.

86. That is a person of the same faith, a Yezidi.

87. A Nuṣairi, on the contrary, may become a Mohammedan with a Mohammedan, a Christian with a Christian, and a Jew with a Jew; cf. JAOS, VIII, 298.

88. The Ṣābians did not eat purslane, garlic, beans, cauliflower, cabbage, and lentils; cf. Bar Hebraeus, *At-Tāriḥ*, ed. A. Ṣalḥani, Beirut, 1890, 266.

Book Notices.

M. LE GAC'S EDITION OF THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS OF ASSURNASIRPAL

M. Le Gac's edition of the cuneiform texts of Assurnasirpal,¹ although not pretending to be complete, contains the most perfect copies of the important inscriptions of this king hitherto published. In addition to those already known M. Le Gac has added others, small, it is true, but all of interest. Yet in spite of all this, it is a question whether another edition of Assurnasirpal's inscriptions was needed. It is only six or seven years ago that King's copies and translations of the Assurnasirpal documents were published by the Trustees of the British Museum in the *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, and of these four were new, as M. Le Gac says, and as they did not pass through his hands, are not included in his edition.

However, M. Le Gac's copy of the long text known as the "Annals" (containing nearly four hundred lines), from the squeezes in the British Museum, affords a far larger list of variants than the Museum edition. Many of these variants are, of course, of little value, but there are some which allow us to restore one or two lost passages. For instance, in col. iii, l. 131, the gap after *huršani* must be read *i. [du]te*, i. e., "difficult highlands." More important, still, is the long addition provided by M. Le Gac in col. iii, l. 76, which completes the list of tribute to Lubarna: *marat ahi-šu itti nuduniša [ma]'di* "his niece, with her munificent dowry." Among minor points which may be noted, the Le Gac edition gives the text necessary to restore col. iii, l. 112, *ba-tu-bat-te* and l. 113, *ramani-ia*, both of which King has given in brackets in his transliteration. In col. iii, l. 80, the country Ya'turi is also spelled Yahturi. On the other hand we notice in col. iii, l. 74, the Museum edition gives as variants the two Assyrian signs for *ša*, which is not noted by M. Le Gac.

A word must be said in praise of the excellent cuneiform script in which M. Le Gac's edition is printed. It is difficult to say whether this or the black type of Harrison used in the Museum edition is the better.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

¹ LES INSCRIPTIONS D'ASSUR-NAŠIR-APLU III, ROI D'ASSYRIE (885-860 av. J.-C.). Nouvelle édition des textes originaux, d'après les Estampages du British Museum et les Monuments. Par Y. Le Gac. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1907. Pp. xxi + 209.

VIROLLEAUD'S "L'ASTROLOGIE CHALDÉENNE"¹

The present volumes are three of a series of publications on Assyrian astrological tablets, which M. Virolleaud has undertaken. The work is appearing gradually in twelve parts, four being devoted to the cuneiform texts of tablets relating to the omens from the sun, the moon, the planets, and the atmosphere, the remaining parts being the transliteration and translations, the whole being completed with an introduction and a glossary. All these astrological texts are from the great series "When (Anu) Bêl," which composes no small part of the great library of Ashurbanipal from Kouyunjik; and we welcome the continuation of M. Virolleaud's labors, as a good edition of this class of texts is much to be desired. Many were published years ago by Henry Rawlinson in the *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, and translated by Professor Sayce in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. Since then there has been a certain amount of material published on this subject, not only on tablets of this period (the seventh century B. C.) but also on those tablets of the later Babylonian period, which are more astronomical in their character.

In these three fascicules are texts of many of the omens relating to the moon and the planets, and a transliteration of the Adad (atmosphere) texts in fascicule 4. Many of them have been before the public in other editions, but it is safe to say that the present copies are in many cases more trustworthy than those of previous publications. The Adad transliterations are of considerable interest, for they give the omens for thunder in the various months, for lightning with the thunder, rainbows during a storm, and many similar natural phenomena from which auguries may be predicted. Especially interesting is No. XI (p. 9), which compares the noises of thunder to those which dogs, pigs, etc., make, and draws omens therefrom. We shall look forward with interest to the completion of M. Virolleaud's work, and hope that it is merely the earnest of a succession of labors in the field of Assyrian astrology. It is a subject which contains many problems which can only be elucidated by the examination of a far larger mass of material than is at present available. The neat characters in which M. Virolleaud transcribes his copies will make his contributions to cuneiform science doubly welcome.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

¹ L'ASTROLOGIE CHALDÉENNE. Le Livre intitulé "*enuma (Anu) ilu Bêl*," publié, transcrit et traduit par Ch. Virolleaud, maître de conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon. Texte cunéiforme, "Sin" (fascicule 1): texte cunéiforme, "Ishtar" (fascicule 3): Transcription, "Adad" (fascicule 8). Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1'08-1909.

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THE PARTICLE *ḥ* IN OLD TESTAMENT GREEK

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I. *ḥ* DISJUNCTIVE
(a) *Single*

1. To *ḥ* in a disjunctive sense, English *or*, corresponds Hebrew *ʾiṣ*,¹ less frequently *ʾi*,² especially in the case of synonymous expressions.³ When *ʾiṣ* = *if, whether*, is repeated with or without

NOTE 1.—Job 1:11 *ʾiṣ*, introducing an oath, is rendered *ḥ* in 'A. For *εἴτε* / *בְּהֵם* (free rendering) *ibid.*, 22:21, A reads *ḥ*.

NOTE 2.—*וְ* . . . *בֵּין* Lev. 27:33 is rendered *ἀνὰ μέσον* . . . *ḥ* in Al.

NOTE 3.—In the Greek codices, we frequently meet with the variant *καί* for *ḥ* not only where the Hebrew in all or in certain of its texts has *ʾi*,^a but also where the equivalent in the original

¹251 times in *℣*, 3 in 'A, 4 in *Σ*, 4 in *Θ*, 8 in Al., once in E'. E. g., Gen. 24:49 *εἰς ἀριστερὰν ἡ εἰς δεξιάν*, *עַל יְמִין אִו עַל שְׂמאַל*; Exod. 19:13 *ἐν γὰρ λίθοις λιθοβολήσεται ἡ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται*, *כִּי סָקֹל יִסְקַל אִו יִרְרָה וִירָרָה*; Lev. 19:20 *καὶ αὕτη λύτρωις οὐ λελύτρωται ἡ ὀλευθερία οὐκ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ*, *וְהַפְדָּה לֹא נִפְדָּתָה אִו הַפְשָׁה לֹא נָתַן לָהּ*.

²163 (+ Ge 21⁷ Phil-codd $\frac{1}{2}$) times in *℣*, 2 in 'A, 5 in *Σ*, once in *Θ*, 3 in Al. E. g., Gen. 19:12 *γαμβροὶ ἡ υἱοὶ ἡ θυγατέρες*, *חָתָן וּבְנִיד וּבְנִתִיד*; Exod. 38:27 (40:32) *εἰσπορευομένων αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἡ ὅταν προσπορεύωνται πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον λειτουργεῖν*, *בְּבֹאֵם אֵל אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וּבִקְרַבְתֶּם אֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*.

³E. g., Gen. 31:14 *μερὶς ἡ κληρονομία*, *חֶלֶק וְנַחֲלָה*; Exod. 2:14 *ἄρχοντα ἡ δικαστήν*, *שָׂר וּשְׁפָט*.

^aE. g., Gen. 26:11 *בְּאִרְשׁ הַזֶּה וּבְאִשְׁתּוֹ*, *τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἡ (καὶ bdpw) τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ*; Lev. 12:7 *לִזְכֹּר אִו לִנְקָבָה*, 2 MSS. Samar. *לִזְכֹּר וּלְנִקְבָּה*, *ἄρσεν ἡ (καὶ 55. 82) θῆλυ*.

a preceding ׀, = *or if, or whether*, the alternate particle may be rendered by mere ׀, *or*.⁴ Similarly in the case of a repeated ׀.⁵

2. In a number of instances, nothing corresponds in the Hebrew to the Greek particle. The following categories must be distinguished:

(a) The Greek reading is corrupt:

Exod. 22:6(5) °αμπελωνας η° (53 > rel) ἄλωνας / גדישׁ .

Lev. 5:2 ἡ θνησιμαίου η (omn, sed dele cum Grabe Frankel, *Einfluss*, 164) θηριαλώτου η (16. 19. 30. 52. 53. 73. 77. 83. 108. 130. Cat Nic. Α ω Ε > rel) ἀκαθάρτου / או בנבלת חיה טמאה .

Ibid., ἡ τῶν θνησιμαίων °η τῶν° (> F. Sixt. ΕΒ) βδελυγμάτων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων = או בנבלת שרץ טמא / או בנבלת שקץ טמא .

Lev. 13:25 η (Α εἰς rel) τὸ αὐγάζον / בבקרת .

Ibid., 49 ἡ ἐν παντὶ σκεύει ἐργασίμῳ η (55 > rel) δέρματος / או בכל כלי עור .

is או.^b In conformity with the Hebrew, in the case of a repeated א or כ, we find the more literal (Hebraizing) ἐὰν ἄρα^c and καὶ ἐάν.^d Independently of the Hebrew, we find the variant ἡ καί,^e and even καὶ ἡ!^f ἡ interchanges with οὐδέ (μηδέ), when the whole phrase is introduced by a negative.^g

NOTE 4.—Num. 9:21 ἡμέρας ἡ νυκτός = או ימים / ולילה; I Kings 12:3 ἡ τίνα ἐξεπέσσα = ואת מי רצות nonnulli MSS. ΤΣ / את מי רצותי 𐤔 text. recept.

⁴ Josh. 22:23 καὶ εἰ ψκοδομήσαμεν . . . ἡ (71. 76. S^h) ὥστε ἀναβιβάσαι . . . ἡ (AN. 44. 54. 56. 58. 74. 75. 82. 84. 106. 121. 134. Ald. S^h) ποιῆσαι / ואם . . . להעלות . . . ואם . . . לבנות (with א understood, comp. the preceding verse). Ezek. 2:5, 7 ἐὰν ἄρα ἀκούσωσιν ἡ πτοηθῶσιν / ואם ישמעו ואם יחדלו (אם בן אם בת) רצולו, אב בהמה. Contrast Exod. 19:13 אב אש, אב אש, ἐάν τε κτήνος ἐάν τε ἄνθρωπος.

⁵ Zech. 7:6 καὶ ἐὰν φάγητε ἡ πίητε, תשתו וכי תאכלו וכי תאכלו.

^b E. g., Gen. 24:49, see above, καὶ is read by 108.

^c Chrys. Theodor. Ezek. 2:5; Const Apost. *ibid.*, 7.

^d Zech. 7:6 Q.

^e E. g., Ezek. 14:20, see above, in 36. 48.

^f Lev. 17:8 τῶν νύων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν νύων τῶν προσηλύτων 85; Num. 5:14 καὶ ἡ ἐπέθῃ G; *ibid.*, 14:2 καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ 54. 75. 84. 106.

^g E. g., Deut. 28:14 οὐ παραβήσῃ . . . δεξιὰ ἡ (AGM. 15. 16. 19. 28. 29. 32. 46. 53-58. 64. 71. 74-77. 82. 85. 106m. 108. 118. 129-131. 134. Compl. Ald. Cat Nic. Aug. Lucif Cal. οὐδέ rel) ἀριστερά, ἡ (7); *ibid.*, 17:20 ἵνα μὴ παραβῇ . . . δεξιὰ ἡ (μηδέ 19. 108. 118) ἀριστερά, . . . (7) לבלתי סור ימין ושמאל.

Lev. 18:10 *θυγατὸς υἱοῦ σου ἥ θυγατὸς ὅσου ἡ* (53. Arab³ > rell) *θυγατρός σου* / *בת בןך או בת בתך*.

Num. 5:6 *ἡ τις* (134 *εἷ τις* Theodor. *ὅστις* rell) *ἐὰν ποιήσῃ* / *כִּי יַעֲשֶׂה*.

I Kings 21:4 *ὅτι ἡ* (A > rell) *ἀλλ' ἥ* / *כִּי אַם*.

(b) Doublets. That is, two alternate readings are introduced into the text and joined by means of our particle:

Lev. 20:6 *ἐγγαστριμύθοις ἡ τετρασκόποις* (A with whom doublets are characteristic) *ἥ ἐπασιδοῖς* / *הַאֲבוֹת וְאֵל הַיִּדְעָנִים*.

Num. 15:11 *ἐκ τῶν προβάτων ἡ* (> G) *ἐκ τῶν ἀμνῶν*° (G^{Sh}. Arab^{1,2} cum ✕ praemisso > rell) *ἥ ἐκ τῶν αἰγῶν* / *בְּנִבְשִׁים אוּ בַעֲזִים* (בְּנִבְשִׁים Sebir, Samar.).

Jud. 18:7 B. Sixt. *διατρέπων ἡ καταισχύνων* / *בִּינְלִים*.

II Kings 19:42(43) *δόμα ἔδωκεν ἡ ἄρσιν ἡρεν* / *נִשְׂאֵת נִשְׂאָה* (G probably read *נִשְׂאֵת*).

Prov. 1:27 *καὶ* (var. *ἥ*) *ὅταν* (var. *ὅτε*) *ἔρχηται ὑμῖν θλίψις καὶ πολιορκία ἡ* – (S^h. Alex.) *ὅταν ἔρχηται ὑμῖν ὀλεθρος*° (> C. 23. 68. 103. 109. 147. 157. 161. 248. 252. 254. 260. 295. 296. Compl. Ald. Clem Rom. Slav. Ostrog. S^h) / *בְּבֹא עֲלֵיכֶם צָרָה וְצוּקָה*.

Micah 6:3 *ἡ τί ἐλύπησά σε*° (sub – S^h. Alex.) *ἡ τί παρηνώχλησά σε* / *וּמָה הִלְאִיתִיךָ*.

Hag. 2:13 *μεμιαμμένος ἡ* (AQ. 26. 36. 42. 49. 106. 239. B) *ἀκάθαρτος* (> 22. 23. 51. 62. 68. 86. 87. 91. 95. 97. 114. 130. 147. 153. 185. 198. 228^t. 233. 238. 310. 311. Ald. Compl. S^h) / *טָמֵא*.

Isa. 7:16 *ἀγαθὸν ἥ πονηρὸν ἀπειθεῖ πονηρίᾳ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν* / *מֵאוֹס בְּרַע וּבְהוֹר בְּטוֹב*.

Ezek. 3:6 *ἀλλοφώνους ἡ ἀλλογλώσσους* / *עֲבוּקֵי שִׁפָּה*.

Dan. 6:7(8) G *εὐξεται εὐχὴν ἡ ἀξιώσῃ ἀξιώμά τι* / *יַבְעָה בְּעוֹ*.

Σ Gen. 42:21 *καὶ μάλα ἡ ὄντως* / *אֲבָל*.

Lev. 5:2 *(85) *ἡ ἄψηται*° (> 16. 55. 83. 118. Slav. Ostrog. A. Cat Nic., an amplification from the beginning of the verse) *ἡ* (> 30. 130. Georg.) *θνησιμαίου ἐρπετοῦ* (-ῶν 16. 83) *τοῦ* (130) *ἀκαθάρτου* (-ων 16. 83) in 16. 30. 52. 55. 73–77. 83–85. 106. 118. 130. Slav. Ostrog. Georg. A. Cat Nic. is a duplicated, more exact rendering of *טָמֵא שֶׁרָץ בְּנִבְלָת*, over against the original rendering in G which implies the variant *שֶׁקָץ* (see above).

(c) Amplifications. The plus is usually derived from a parallel passage:

Lev. 13:51 τοῖς λινοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐρεοῖς (54. 74–76. 106. 134. A. Arab^{1,2}) from the following verse.

Lev. 17:3 καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάξῃ + μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον (56) + ἢ αἶγα (53), from the first half of the verse.

Lev. 22:21 °ἢ (> AF) ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ὑμῶν° (> 30. 58. 128. Arab^{1,2} E) from Num. 15:3.

Ibid., °ἢ (καὶ 19. 108. 118) ἐκ τῶν αἰγῶν° (58), from vs. 19.

Num. 24:13 μικρὸν ἢ μέγα (M^m. 44. 58. 74–76. 84. 106. 134. Lips.^m), from 22:18.

Deut. 15:2 ἢ ἡ ἀδελφὴ σου (Cyr Alex in one place).

Deut. 22:4 ἢ τὸν μόσχον αὐτοῦ °ἢ πᾶν κτῆνος αὐτοῦ° (74. 76. 106. 134) a halakic amplification.

(d) Where the Hebrew idiom admits of an asyndetic construction, the Greek may introduce the disjunctive particle:

(α) Lev. 25:40 ὥς μισθωτὸς ἢ (var. καὶ) πάροικος / כְּשִׂכָּר ; Ps. 13(14):2 = 52(53):3 συνίω·ν ἢ (καὶ U > 27. 277; in 52(53) sub + Alex.) ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν / מְשַׁכֵּל דָּרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים מִשְׁכִּיל דָּרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים. Especially in phrases like *two or three, four or five*, etc.: IV Kings 9:32 ἈΣ Isa. 17:6 δύο ἢ τρεῖς / שְׁנַיִם שְׁלֹשָׁה ; Isa. 17:6 τέσσαρες ἢ πέντε / אַרְבַּעַת חֲמִישָׁה ; Si. 13:7 δις ἢ τρίς / שְׁלֹשׁ פַּעַמַּיִם .

(β) Gen. 44:16 τί ἀντεροῦμεν . . . ἢ τί λαλήσωμεν ἢ τί δικαιοθῶμεν / מִיָּד נִדְּבֵר וּמִיָּד נִצְטָדֵק ; Lev. 11:10 ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἢ (var. καὶ, ἢ καὶ, > F. 16. 55. 59. 64. 106¹. Ald. Arab³. Slav. A) ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς χειμάρροις = Samar. בְּמֵיִם וּבְנַחְלִים בְּמֵיִם בְּמֵיִם (> B); Deut. 22:6 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἢ (> Damasc.) ἐπὶ πάντι δένδρει ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς / בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּכָל עֵץ אוֹ עַל הָאָרֶץ .

(γ) At the beginning of a new clause: Num. 18:29 ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν δομάτων ὑμῶν . . . ἢ (> AFM. 15. 16. 18. 19. 28–30. 32. 44. 52–59. 64. 73. 74. 76. 77. 82–85. 106. 108. 118. 128. 131. 134. Compl. Ald. Lips. Cat Nic. Copt. Arab^{1,2}. Slav. Ostrog. BCS^h) ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀπαρχῶν / מִכָּל מִנְחֹתֵיכֶם ; III Kings 18:27 ἢ μή ποτε / אִלּוּ ; Job 9:14 ἐὰν δέ μου ὑπακούσεται, ἢ (> Compl. C) διακρινεῖ τὰ ῥήματά μου = יִבְרַר דְּבָרִי עָמִי . . . / אֲבַהֲרָה דְּבָרִי עָמִי ; 11:8 °ἢ βαθύτερα° (A) τῶν ἐν ᾧδου / עֲמִיקָה

בְּשֵׁאוֹל; 14:2 ἡ ὥσπερ ἄνθος / כְּצִי (did 13:28 stand between 14:1 and 14:2?); 19:24 ἡ ἐν πέτραις ἐγγλυφῆναι (+ εἰς μαρτύριον 139. 147. 256; the same in front of ἡ 249; \mathfrak{L} sub \mathfrak{X} ; according to \mathfrak{S}^h from Θ , = לְעַד / לְעַד) / צִוְּרֵי יְהֻצְבוֹן; 27:9 ὡς ἡ ἐπελθούσης (ἐπελθούσης δὲ A. 249. 254) αὐτῷ ἀνάγκης (the whole > \mathfrak{B}) / כִּי בְּהוֹיֹן לִילָה; 33:15 ἡ ἐν μελέτῃ νυκτερινῇ = בְּהוֹיֹן לִילָה 6 MSS. $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{Y}$ / לְ / הוֹיֹן; *ibid.*, ἡ (C. 110. 137–139. 147. 157. 160. 161. 248. 249. 251–253. 256–258. 260. 261. Compl. Ald. \mathfrak{L}) ὅταν ἐπιπίπτῃ / בְּנֶפֶל; 38:6 ἡ ἐπὶ τίνος ($\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{L}$; ἐπὶ τίνος δὲ 106) / עַל בְּהָה; *ibid.*, 24 ἡ σκεδάννυται / יִפֹּץ; Prov. 1:27 ἡ (23. 103. 109. 147. 157. 161. 252. 296. 297. Compl. Ald. Alex. Slav. Ostrog. \mathfrak{S}^h καὶ rell) ὅταν (ὅτε 103) ἔρχεται / בָּבֵא; Isa. 7:15 ἡ (> 93. Compl. $\mathfrak{S}^h\mathfrak{B}$) προελέσθαι / בִּיאֹס; 21:13 ἡ (Sext. > BNAQF. 26. 36. 41. 48. 49. 51. 62. 87. 90. 97. 106. 109. 144. 147. 233. 239. 301. 302. 305. 306. 308. 309. Compl. \mathfrak{S}^h) ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ / אֶרְדֶּוֹת; 40:14 ἡ (καὶ 147) πρὸς τίνα / בִּי.

(δ) In Hebrew, a general expression, summing up a number of particulars, may be joined asyndetically to what precedes, or be introduced by ו = *in short*. In either case, the Greek has ἡ. Thus, Exod. 22:10(9) בְּהִמָּה וּבְכָל בְּהִמָּה אוֹ שׂוֹר אוֹ חֲמֹר אוֹ יָסוֹזְגִיּוֹן ἡ μὸςχον ἡ πρόβατον ἡ πᾶν κτήνος; Deut. 15:21 פֶּסַח אוֹ עֹר פֶּסַח אוֹ עֹר, χωλὸν ἡ τυφλόν, ἡ (var. ἡ καὶ, καὶ) πᾶς (> 85) μῶμος πονηρός (-οῦ 82), so AFMN. 15. 16. 18. 19. 28–30. 32. 46. 53. 54. 56–59. 64. 71. 73–77. 82. 83. 85. 106. 108. 118. 128. 129. 130. 131. 134. Compl. Cat Nic. Slav. \mathfrak{E} . Arab³. $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{B}$. August. (καὶ πᾶν μῶμον πονηρόν G, simply μῶμον πονηρόν rell).

(ε) While it is permissible freedom to present an appositive in the form of an alternative (Ruth 1:16 τοῦ καταλιπεῖν σε ἡ (70. καὶ 58. $\mathfrak{A}^{\text{codd. ed.}}$. Georg. \mathfrak{E}) ἀποστρέψαι ὀπισθεν σου / לְעֹזֵב לְשׁוֹב (בִּיאֲחֵרִי), we meet with cases of inadequate or erroneous exegesis, when subordinate constructions are turned into co-ordinate ones. Thus, Exod. 13:12 בְּהִמָּה שֶׁנֶּר פֶּטֶר וּבְכָל פֶּטֶר, (καὶ sub \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{S}^h) πᾶν διανοίγον μήτραν ὅεκ (τῶν) βουκολίων ἡ (var. καὶ; > 15. 56. 129. Compl. Philo. Arab³) (sub + \mathfrak{S}^h) ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσίν σου; ὅεκ (τῶν) βουκολίων corresponds to שֶׁנֶּר, comp. Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51; ἡ, if genuine, would indicate that the translator took ‘ש’ as in the absolute state and co-ordinate with ‘ב’; it is altogether unnecessary

to assume that \mathfrak{G} read 'וב' ש'. Lev. 13:19 בָּהָרָה לְבָנָה אֲדָמָדִמַּת, where the second adjective modifies the first and the two represent a compound, *white-reddish*, the Greek has *whitish or reddish*, *τηλαυγῆς λευκαίνουσα* η (see Frankel, *Einfluss*, 165) *πυρρίζουσα*; similarly *ibid.*, 42 נָגַע לְבָן אֲדָמָדִם, ἀφῆ λευκὴ η (> F. 59) *πυρρίζουσα*; *ibid.*, 43 לְבָנָה אֲדָמָדִמַּת, λευκὴ η (AF. Sixt. > B) *πυρρίζουσα*. I Esdr. 6:32(33) = II Esr. 6:12 לְהַשְׁנִיָּה לְהַבְלָה, where the first infinitive is subordinate to the second, *to alter* (the law) *so as to destroy*, is misconceived as asyndetic co-ordination, ἀλλάξαι (var. ἀλλοιῶσαι) η (καὶ 243. Compl. Ald., but correctly ὥστε 19. 93. 108) ἀφανίσαι (var. διαφθεῖραι).

(e) *In parallelismo membrorum*:

Job 3:16 אוֹר רָאוּ לֹא כַעֲלָלִים כַּנֶּפֶל, η ὥσπερ ἔκ-
τρωμα η (> \mathfrak{L} Caspary) ὥσπερ νήπιοι οἱ οὐκ εἶδον φῶς.

Job 5:26 כַּעֲלָלִים גִּדִּישׁ בַּעֲתוֹ כ (so Merx, Dillmann; \mathfrak{H} בכלח; according to Beer בכלח > \mathfrak{G} , doublet), ὥσπερ σῖτος ὥριμος °κατὰ καιρὸν (+ αὐτοῦ $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{S}^h$) θεριζόμενος° (sub - \mathfrak{S}^h), η (> 26. 106) ὥσπερ θιμωνιὰ (var. θημωνια, θυμωνια) ἄλωνος (sub - \mathfrak{S}^h) καθ' ὥραν συνκομισθεῖσα.

Job 6:15 כִּמּוֹ נָחַל כְּאַפְרִיק (כַּעֲפִיר \mathfrak{H}), ὥσπερ χεიმάρρους η (καὶ \mathfrak{C}) ὥσπερ κῦμα.

Job 6:16 יָם בְּיָמֵי כְּשֶׁלֶג עָלַי כִּמּוֹ קָרָה יָת ה
(הֶקְדָּרִים מִנִּי קָרָה עָלַי מִי יַחֲעֵלֶם שֶׁלֶג) οἵτινές με διευλαβούντο, νῦν ἐπιπεπτώκασίν μοι ὥσπερ χιών η κρύσταλλος πεπηγώς.

Job 13:28 כַּבֵּגַד, η ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον.

Job 15:9 חֲבִיץ, η τί συνίεις.

Job 26:2 הוֹשַׁעַת, η (> 157 καὶ \mathfrak{C}) τίμι μέλλεις βοηθεῖν. \mathfrak{G} read לֹא עוֹ, לֹא עוֹ.

Job 32:19 כְּאִבּוֹת, η (καὶ 16. $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{L}$) ὥσπερ φυσητήρ.

Ps. 14(15):1 מִי יִשְׁכֵּן (מִי 46 MSS.), η ($\mathfrak{N}^{c,a}$ ARU. 21. 39. 55. 65. 67. 69. 80. 81. 99. 100-102. 106. 111-115. 140. 143. 144. 150. 152. 154. 156. 162-167. 169. 170-175. 181. 183. 185. 187. 189. 191. 193-197. 199. 200-206. 208. 212. 215. 219. 222. 223. 227. 263. 278-286. 288-293. Compl. Ald. Orig. Theodor. $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{S}^h$ \mathfrak{m} καὶ rell; on the grouping of the MSS. of the Psalter see Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 1907, § 8) τίς κατασκηνώσει.

Ps. 59(60):11 = 107(108):11 מִי יִהְיֶה (מִי יִהְיֶה \mathfrak{H}), η ($\mathfrak{N}^{c,a}$

(ipse fort del) RT. 13. 27^{vid.} 39. 55. 65-67. 69. 80. 81. 99-101. 111-114. 140-146. 150. 154. 156. 162-175. 177-180. 185. 187-191. 193-196. 199-206. 208. 211. 212. 214-217. 219. 223. 264. 265. 267-272. 274-277. 279-282. 284-286. 289-293. Compl. Ald. Theodor. A^{cd}. Syr. Slav. Vindob. καὶ 210. 227. 283^m >rell; in 107(108):11 S^{c.a.}ART >rell) τίς ὁδηγήσει με.

Ps. 93(94):16 בִּי יִחַצַב, ἥ (sub - Alex.; καὶ 210; η μοι >144ⁱ) τίς συνπαράσθησεται μοι.

Ps. 143(144):3 בֶּן אָדָם (רבן certain MSS.), ἥ (sub - Alex.) υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.

Prov. 20:9 זִכְרִי לְבִי, ἥ τίς παρρησιάζεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἀμαρτιῶν.

Hos. 14:10 נִבְּוֶן, ἥ (>68. 87. 91. 130. 228. 310. 311. Ald. B^{sh}. Philo. Clem Al. καὶ 97. 153. Compl. Orig. Bas M. Cyr Al. Chrys.) συνητός.

Σ Ps. 57(58):9 נִפְלֵ, ἥ ἔκτρομα.

(f) In the following places, the presence of the Greek disjunctive rests on a variant in the Hebrew text underlying *Θ*, or the particle is part of a passage wanting in the *textus receptus* of *℣*, but apparently present in the Hebrew text underlying *Θ*:

Exod. 7:9 σημεῖον ὃ ἡ (ωΞ) τέρας° (>Arab^{1.2}. S^h) = אוֹת אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִם / מִצְרַיִם.

Exod. 12:44 καὶ πάντα (B^a) οἰκέτην τινὸς (AF. alii) ἡ (καὶ AFM. 14. 16. 18. 19. 25. 29. 30. 52. 54. 55. 58. 59. 71-74. 76-78. 84. 85. 108. 118. 130. 131. 134. 135. Ald. Orig. Cyr Al. A^{sh}℣. Jac Nisib) ἀργυρώνητον = וְכָל עֶבֶד אִישׁ וּמִקְנֵה כֶּסֶף וְכָל עֶבֶד / וְכָל עֶבֶד אִישׁ. *Θ* took עֶבֶד אִישׁ in the sense of יָלִיד בֵּית; comp. Gen. 17:12, 13, 23, 27; Lev. 22:11. With *℣* go Slav. Ostrog. Arab³.

Exod. 22:14(13) ὃ ἡ αἰχμάλωτον γένηται° (>A^{*F}. 14. 16. 58. 59. 77. 130. B^{es}h) = אוֹ נִשְׁבָּה; comp. vs. 9, >*℣*.

Lev. 10:9 ὃ ἡ (>75) προσπορευομένων ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον° (>58) = אוֹ בְּנִשְׁחָבְךָ אֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ; comp. Exod. 28:39(43); 30:20; also 38:27 (40:32), >*℣*.

Lev. 13:55 ὃ ἐστήρισται ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ ἡ ἐν τῷ στήμονι ἡ ἐν τῇ κρόκῃ° (>72) = בְּבֶגֶד אוֹ בְּשָׂתִי אוֹ בְּעֶרְבִי / פָּתַחַת הָרֹא / בְּקִרְחָתוֹ אוֹ בְּגִבְחָתוֹ. But see Frankel, *Einfluss*, 127.

Lev. 17:3 ° ° ° ה (> 15 *et* Ambros. Georg.) τῶν προσηλύτων (+ η BA) τῶν προσκειμένων ° (> 130^t) ἐν ὑμῖν ° ° (> GN. 16. 19. 29. 30. 52. 54. 57. 73–77. 82. 84. 85^t. 106. 108. 118. 128. 131^t. 134. Compl. Cat Nic. Arab^{1.3}. A^{codd.} ed. Cyr Al. 𐤇𐤁) = 𐤇𐤁 𐤇𐤁; comp. vss. 8 and 10, > 𐤇𐤁.

Lev. 17:4 καὶ ἐπὶ ° τὴν θύραν ° (τὰς θύρας 54. Cyr Al. in one citation τῆς θύρας 59 τη θυρας 75) ° τῆς σκηνῆς ° (> 15) τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ (εἰς- 16. 74. 76. 128) ἐνέγκῃ (+ αὐτό G. 57. 73. 75. 77. 85. 106. 130. 131. 134. Cat Nic. Arab^{1.2} A^{codd.} ed. αὐτον 54) ÷ (G) ° ° ὥστε (> N. 108) ° ποιῆσαι αὐτό (αὐτοῖς 16. 30. 57. 73. 77. 85. 130. 131. Cat Nic.) ° (tr. 19. 118) ° ° (> Arab³) εἰς (> 16. 29. 30. 73. 77. 85. 130. 131. Cat Nic.) ὀλοκαύτωμα ἢ (> 15. Arab³; εἰς G. 16. 19. 54. 57–59. 73. 75. 77. 85. 108. 131. Cat Nic.) σωτηρίου (-ίου 18. 30. 64. 128. Lips.) ° Κυρίῳ (κῡ A. 19. 30 > F. 59. 72; pr τῷ 55. Cyr Al.) δεκτὸν ° (tr. 56) εἰς ὡσμὴν εὐωδίας, ° ° καὶ ὃς (ως 75*) ἂν (ἐὰν 32. 75) σφάξῃ ἕξω (> 72; + castra Copt. Arab³) ° καὶ (> 59. 72. 75. Cyr Al.) ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ° (> 58) (οὐ 84) μὴ ἐνέγκῃ αὐτὸ (> 16. 52. 54. 74–77. 84. 106. 134. Cat Nic.) √ (G) (the obelized passage > Compl. Arab^{1.2}. Cyr Al. in one citation) ὥστε (ὡσπερ 52. 57. 73. Cat Nic.) μὴ (BA. Cyr Al. > F. Sixt.) προσενέγκαι (-κεῖν 54. 75; + αὐτό G. Arab^{1.2}. F^m) δῶρον (δωρα 134) Κυρίῳ (pr τῷ F. Sixt.; > BAN Cyr Al.) ἀπέναντι ° τῆς σκηνῆς ° (> 106; + τοῦ μαρτυρίου 55. 59. 64. 74. 84. 106. 129. 134. Compl. Ald.) Κυρίου (pr τοῦ 57. 73. Cat Nic.; > 55. 59. 64. Compl. Ald.) ° ° (> 19. 53. 56. 108. 118) / ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו / ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו Samar. [ישתהו ברוץ ואל פתח אהל מועד לא הביאו] להקריבו [ו] קרבן יהוה לפני משכן יהוה. According to Frankel, *Einfluss*, 162, 𐤇 is the result of a conflation of two readings (so already Grotius), while Samar. is dependent on 𐤇. Presumably, however—note the homoio-teleuton הביאו . . . הביאו—the conflation was already present in the Hebrew text underlying 𐤇, while Samar. represents an attempt at disaskeuastic correction: וישתהו ברוץ 𐤇 או אשר ישחט ברוץ for 𐤇.

Lev. 20:10 ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἂν μοιχεύσῃται γυναῖκα ° ἀνδρός, ἢ ὃς ἂν μοιχεύσῃται γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον ° (τοῦ πλησίον ἢ ἀνδρός τινος 53 > Damasc.) / MSS. = ואיש אשר ינאף את אשת איש ואשר ינאף את אשת רעהו 𐤅𐤔𐤕𐤕 text. recept.

Lev. 25:47 τῷ προσηλύτῳ ἡ τῷ παροίκῳ / לְגֵר וְתוֹשֵׁב (10 MSS. Samar. 570 תוֹשֵׁב text. recept.).

Num. 14:23 – (G. Arab^{1,2}) °ἀλλ’ ἡ° (ἀλλὰ 19. 59. 108. 129. Compl.) τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν μετ’ ἐμοῦ ὄδον (+ σήμερον Compl.; tr. Copt.; σήμερον without ὁδε 85^m. 130*), ὅσοι οὐκ οἶδασιν ἀγαθόν (-θα 19. 44. 54. 74–76. 84. 106. 108. 118. 134. Slav. Ostrog. Georg.) ἡ (AFGM. 16. 18. 28–30. 32. 52. 54–58. 71. 73. 77. 82. 83. 128–131. Compl. Ald. Lips. Cat Nic. Cyr Al. A^{codd. ed.} 5^h et Slav. Ostrog. Georg. 12 οὐδὲ rell) κακόν (-κά 19, etc., as above), πᾶς νεώτερος ἀπειρος (> 75), τοῦτοις δώσω (δω 16. 53. 73. 77. 131*) τὴν γῆν > 11. See the writer’s “Studien im griechischen Alten Testament,” I, ZAW., XXVII (1907), 235.

Num. 30:3 ἡ °ὀρίσῃται ὀρισμῶ (-μόν 19. 136. Ang. > 54)° (tr. BN. 75. 129. Orig. Cyr Al. A^{codd. ed.} and with the reading ορκισμω 44. 74. 76. 82. 106. 134) = 5 = 777 777 / 777 777.

Deut. 13:6(7) °ἐκ πατρός σου ἡ (et Arab¹)° (> Slav. Ostrog.; sub – G) ἐκ μητρός σου (> 58. Cypr. Jul Firmic. Pacian.) = Samar. 777 777 / 777 777.

I Kings 14:41 τί (> A. 245. 247) ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης (-θη A. 247) τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἡ (BA. 121^{m. pr.} 29. 55. 71. 106. 134. 242. 245. 246 εἰ Sixt. > 121) ἐν ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐν Ἰωνᾶθὰν τῷ νύφῳ μου ἡ (> 44) ἀδικία; °Κύριε °ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ° (> 44)° (> 121. 12A^{codd. ed.}), δὸς δῆλους (-οις 106 -ος 254). °°° °° καὶ ἐὰν (εἰ 93. 82. 108) °τάδε εἶπη (-ης 44. 74. 93. 106. 120. 121. 123. 134. 247. Ald. -οις 82. 108)° (τα δε εἰπης N. 29. 52. 55. 56. 54. 71. 92. 119. 144. 236. 242. 244–246. Cat Nic.), °δὸς δὴ (> 44. 74. 106. 134. 247 ἐν 121) τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ° (ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἀδικία 19 ἐν τῷ λ. ἡ ἀ. 108 ἐν τῷ λ. 82. 93 ἐν τῷ λ. σου Ἰ. ἡ ἀ. 14. 29. 52. 55. 56. 64. 71. 92. 119. 144. 236. 242. 244–246. Cat Nic. τῷ λ. σου Ἰ. 123 ἐν τῷ δουλω σου Ἰ. ἡ ἀ. 245) °° (aut si ita est in populo tuo haec iniquitas 12) °οσιότητα°°° (> Compl.) / 777 777. See Wellhausen, Driver, *ad locum*.

IV Kings 2:16 °ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ° (sub – 5^h > 19. 82. 93. 108. Compl. = A) ἡ (> AN. 19. 74. 92. 93. 106. 108. 134. 158. 245. Compl. Ald. 5^h. Slav. Ostrog.) > 11.

I Esdr. 9:4 = Ezr. 10:8 ἐν δυοῖν (δύο 19. 108) ἡ > 11.

Job 9:12 ἡ τίς ἐρεῖ / 777 777.

Prov. 6:8^{ab} ἡ πορεύῃτι κτλ. (sub – 5^h. Alex. > Compl.) > 11.

Prov. 20:21(27) ° ἡ λύχνος ° (A. 106. 149. 248. 252-254. 260. 296. Compl. καὶ λ. 297) > 𐤠.

Isa. 41:22 ἡ (+ καὶ 26) τὰ πρότερα / הִיאֲשֵׁנוֹת, possibly rests on a misconception.

Lam. 2:13 ἡ τί = רַמְיָה plur. MSS. / מִיָּה text. receipt.

Cant. 8:4 'A Al. ἐν (ταῖς) δορκάσιν ἡ ἐν ἐλάφοις τῆς χώρας = הַשְׂדֵּה הַשְׂדֵּה אוּ בַצְבָּאוֹת > 𐤠.

Sir. 51:24 ἡ (S^{c. a.} 253 + τι 248 𐤠 καὶ 23) λέγετε (εληγετε 253) > 𐤠.

Isa. 29:15 ἡ (> 𐤠 Γ. 49. 90. 144. 308. 𐤠) ἃ ἡμεῖς ποιούμεν > 𐤠.

Isa. 40:14 ° ἡ (> 36 prm τις ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ 87. 91. 198. Ald; sic nisi παρεδωκεν 97. 228. 309) τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ ° (S. 26. 49. 86. 90. 104. 106. 233. 239. 306. Alex. Georg. Slav. 𐤠𐤠) > 𐤠.

(g) In the following passages, the identification with the Hebrew remains an unsolved problem:

Isa. 3:6 ἡ (> 26 καὶ 41. 303. 305. 307. Ald. 𐤠) τοῦ οἰκείου (οἴκου 93 πλησίον 303-305. 307) / בֵּית .

Isa. 8:8 καὶ ἀφελεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἄνθρωπον ὃς δυνήσεται κεφαλὴν ἄραι ἡ (ει S^{c. b} A. 106) δυνατὸν συντελέσασθαι τι / רָחַץ יַגִּיד בִּיהוּדָה שֶׁשֶׁ עַד צֹאֵר יִגִּיד .

Isa. 10:15 ὡς ἂν τις ἄρη ῥάβδον ἡ ξύλον (+ υψωθῇσεται ξυλον) / כַּהֲנִי שֶׁבֶט אֶת מְרִימִיו כְּהִרִים מִטַּה לֹא עָץ .

Isa. 17:7 καλάμη ἡ (καὶ 147) ὡς ῥῶγες ἐλαίας / עֵלְזָה כְּנֹקֶרֶת .

Isa. 23:13 ἡ (A* ei 106 αλλα Slav. Mosq.) καὶ αὕτη ἡρήμωται ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων / זֶה הָעָם לֹא הָיָה אֲשׁוּר .

Dan. 6:17(18) 𐤠 ὅπως μὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀρθῇ ὁ Δανιήλ ἡ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀνασπάσῃ ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου / דָּן לֹא תִשָּׁנָה צָבֹו בְּתַנְיָל , paraphrastic.

Hos. 6:9 E' ἡ παροδεύοντας εἰς Συχὲμ διὰ τῆς εἰδωλοποιΐας αὐτῶν τῆς ἀθεμίτου / הָבֵר כְּהִנִּים דֶּךָ יִרְצֶהוּ שֶׁכִּנְיָה .

(b) Doubled: ἡ . . . ἡ

1. In Hebrew:

(1) אִי . . . אִי (according to Driver in the English Gesenius, Oxford, 1906, rare; he cites two instances, Lev. 5:1 and Lev. 13:48, 51; the former is correct and is recognized by 𐤠;

the latter example rests on an erroneous conception of the passage which also underlies the rendering of EV: *whether it be in (the) warp, or woof; of linen, or of woollen*. Rather translate: *or in the warp or woof, whether it be of wool or linen*. The two alternates are בָּגָד (vs. 48) and שָׂחִי אוֹ עֵרֵב; in each of these, again, צִמָּר and פְּשָׁתִים are alternates):

Lev. 5:1 καὶ οὗτος μάρτυς ἥ (εἰ A > 129) ἐώρακεν ἥ (εἰ A) σύννοιδεν, comp. *Ů testisque fuerit, quod aut ipse vidit, aut conscius est* / וְהָיָה עֵד אוֹ רֹאֶה אוֹ יָדַע.

Lev. 25:49 εἰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου λυτρώσεται αὐτόν· ἥ (128 Ξ) ἀδελφὸς °° πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ° ἥ υἱὸς ° (> 72. 85) ἀδελφοῦ πατρὸς °° (> 130) λυτρώσεται αὐτόν / אוֹ דָּדוֹ אוֹ בֶּן דָּדוֹ : אוֹ יִגְאָלְנוּ : אָחִיו בְּאָחִיו יִגְאָלְנוּ . First the generic word (בָּלָל), then the particulars (פְּרָט).

Lev. 5:2 ἥτις ἐὰν ἀψῆγται παντὸς πράγματος ἀκαθάρτου, ἥ θνησιμαίου θηριαλώτου (elsewhere = טָרֵף) ἀκαθάρτου ἥ τῶν θνησιμαίων βδελυγμάτων (τῶν) ἀκαθάρτων ἥ τῶν θνησιμαίων κτηνῶν τῶν ἀκαθάρτων / אוֹ בְּנִבְלָה אוֹ בְּמֵאֶה חַיָּה בְּנִבְלָה אוֹ בְּנִבְלָה דְּבַר טָמֵא אוֹ בְּנִבְלָה שֶׁרֵץ טָמֵא . On the Greek text see above a. 2. a; on the variant שֶׁרֵץ at the same place.

(2) אוֹ ; that is to say, the first of the alternate disjunctives is not expressed in Hebrew at all. As the examples will show, there is, as a rule, no agreement in the Greek codices with regard to the employment of a double disjunctive, where the Hebrew has only one:

Lev. 5:6 ἥ (59. Euseb.) ἀμνάδα ἥ χίμαιραν ἐξ αἰγῶν / אוֹ שְׂעִירַת עִזִּים .

Lev. 13:24 ἀυγάζον τηλαυγὲς λευκὸν ° ἥ ὑποπυρρίζον ἥ ἔκλευκον ° (83. Slav. Ostrog. A^{codd.} ed., correct as far as the sense goes, although against the accentuation. Other readings: ἥ (ὑπο)-πυ(ρ)ρίζον 72. 74–76. 106. 134. Ald., a contracted reading, but otherwise correct; (ὑπο)πυ(ρ)ρίζον ἥ ἔκλευκον B. rel. = 11; the same, but with omission of λευκόν, A, yields the same sense. Corrupt readings: η λευκον η υποπ. εκλ. Arab³, η λ. η εκλ. υποπ. 53, η εκλ. λευκον (υπο)π. 29. 56, η εκλ. πυρ. Compl., η εκλ. λ. π. η εκλ. 129) / בְּהֵרֵת לְבָנָה אוֹ דְּמִצְמִית אוֹ לְבָנָה .

Lev. 13:52 ἥ (FM. 16. 18. 30. 32. 53. 56. 58. 64. 72–74. 76.

77. 82. 106. 108. 118. 128. 134. Compl. Ald. Lips. Cat Nic. Slav. Mosq. **A** *ει 75*) ἐν τοῖς ἐρεοῖς ° ἢ ἐν τοῖς λινοῖς ° (> F) / **בצמר או בפשתים**.

Lev. 13:59 *ίματίου ἢ* (72 **B**) ° ἐρεοῦ ἢ στιππυνοῦ ° (> A) / **בגד הצמר או הפשתים**.

Lev. 22:4 ἢ (Lips^m. > rel) λεπρὸς ἢ ῥέων / **צרוע או זב**.

Num. 9:10 ° ἢ (AM^m. 15. 16. 19. 28. 30. 32. 44. 52. 54. 57. 64. 73. 74. 76. 77. 82–85. 106. 118. 130. 131. 134. Ald. Lips. Cat Nic. Chrys. Slav. **A**^{codd. ed.} *ει* without *υμιν* 75 > rel) (ἐν) ὑμῖν ° (> 58. 59. **Ξ** = **Σ**) ἢ (> 54. 59. 75. 106. Arab^{1.2}) ἐν ταῖς γεναῖς ὑμῶν / **לכם או לדורותיכם**.

Num. 15:3 ἢ (56. Compl.) ὀλοκάρπωμα ἢ θυσίαν / **עלה או זבח**.

Ibid., ἢ (44. 106. **Ξ** ἐὰν N *ει* rel) μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων / **בין הבקר או בין הצאן**.

Num. 15:11 ἢ (58. Slav. Ostrog.) ἐκ τῶν προβάτων ἢ ἐκ τῶν αἰγῶν / **בנבשים או בעזים**.

Deut. 13:7(8) ἢ (19. 108. 118) τῶν ἐγγιζόντων σοι ἢ τῶν μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ / **הקרבים אליך או הרהקים בימך**.

Deut. 15:21 ἢ (59. Copt. Georg. **A**^{codd. ed.} **B**) χωλὸν ἢ τυφλόν / **פסח או עור**.

Deut. 22:6 ἢ (44. 54. 58. 74. 75. 106. 134. **ΞΞ**) νοσσοῖς ἢ ὠοῖς / **אפרחים או ביצים**.

Jud. 11:34 ἢ (75) υἱὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ / **בן או בת**.

I Kings 14:6 ἢ (44. 106. 120. 134. Ald. Slav. Ostrog.) ἐν πολλοῖς ἢ ἐν ὀλίγοις / **ברב או במיעט**.

In first two of the following three instances, the copulative **ו** which serves to introduce a new case is ignored in the translation; in the third, the **ו** is a necessary element which should not have been ignored:

Lev. 13:29 ἢ ἀνδρὶ ἢ γυναικί (Orig. in Cat Nic. καὶ ἢ F. Sixt. καὶ καὶ rel) / **ואיש או אשה**.

Lev. 13:38 ἢ ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα (53 καὶ ἢ rel) / **ואיש או אשה**.

Lev. 14:22 ἢ (A) δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νοσσοὺς περιστερῶν / **ושת תרים או שני יונה**.

More than two alternatives:

Lev. 7:11(21) ἢ ἂν ᾗσεται παντὸς πράγματος ἀκαθάρτου, ἢ ἀπὸ

ἀκαθαρσίας ἀνθρώπων ἡ τῶν τετραπόδων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ἡ παντὸς
βδελύγματος ἀκαθάρτου / כִּי תִגַּע בְּכָל טָמֵא בְּטִמְאַת אָדָם אוֹ בַּבְּהֵמָה
טָמֵא אוֹ בְּכָל שֶׁקֶץ טָמֵא.

Lev. 17:3; 22:27 ἡ (Theod.; in 22:27, 53) μόσχον ἡ πρόβατον
ἡ αἶγα / עֵז אוֹ כֶּשֶׂב אוֹ שׂוֹר אוֹ כֶּשֶׂב אוֹ עֵז.

Deut. 17:3 ἡ (44. 54. 74–76. 106. 134. Lucif Cal.) τῷ ἡλίῳ ἡ
τῇ σελήνῃ ἡ παντὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = לַיהוָה אוֹ לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ
וְלַיָּרֵחַ אוֹ לְכָל זָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם.

Deut. 22:6 ἡ (53) ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἡ ἐπὶ παντὶ δένδρει ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς / בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּכָל עֵץ אוֹ עַל הָאָרֶץ.

Lev. 22:22 ἡ (55. A^{codd. ed.} et E > rell) τυφλὸν ὃ ἡ συντετριμμέ-
νον ὃ (> Arab^{1,2}) ἡ γλωσσότμητον ἡ μυρμηκιῶντα ὃ ἡ (καὶ 54. 75)
ψωραγριῶντα ὃ (> B*) ἡ λιχῆνας ἔχοντα / עִוְרִית אוֹ שִׁבּוּר אוֹ הִרְוִי /
אוֹ יִבְלֵת אוֹ גֵּרֵב אוֹ יִלְפַת.

(3) וְ :

Exod. 22:4(5) ἡ (M. 14. 16. 18. 25. 30. 52. 54. 57–59. 73. 77.
78. 130. Cat Nic.) τὰ βέλτιστα (var. κάλλιστα) τοῦ ἀγροῦ αὐτοῦ ἡ
(AFM. 14. 16. 18. 19. 25. 52–57. 59. 64. 71. 73. 74. 77. 78. 84.
85. 118. 129. 130. 134. Compl. Cat Nic. B² καὶ rell) ὃ τὰ βέλτιστα
(var. κάλλιστα) ὃ (> 75. 76. 106) τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος αὐτοῦ / מִיִּטֵּב שִׁדְדוֹ
וּמִיִּטֵּב כִּרְמֵוֹ.

Josh. 8:20 ἡ (71) ὥδε ἡ ὥδε / הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה.

I Kings 25:36 ῥῆμα ἡ (Ald.) μικρὸν ἡ μέγα / קָטָן וְגָדוֹל.

Note Lev. 22:23 ἡ (58 καὶ rell) μόσχον ἡ πρόβατον / וְשׂוֹר
וְשֶׁה.

I Kings 12:3 ἡ (19. 108 ei Compl. A^{codd. ed.} ἡ Greg.) μόσχον
τίνος εἴληφα ὃ ἡ (> 44) ὄνον (+ ἡ 44) ὃ τίνος εἴληφα ὃ (> 74. 106.
120. 134. Ald. Georg. Slav. Iren.) ὃ ὃ (> 71. 121^t. 245. 247. Theod.)
ἡ τίνα (> 44) κατεδυνάστευσα ὃ ὑμῶν ἡ τίνα ἐξεπίεσα, ἡ ἐκ χειρὸς
τίνος εἴληφα ὃ (> 44) = אֶת שׂוֹר מִי לְקַחְתִּי וְהַמִּנִּי מִי לְקַחְתִּי וְאֶת
אֶת שׂוֹר אֶת מִי / מִי עֲשִׂקְתִּי וְאֶת מִי רִצּוֹתִי וּמִינִי מִי נִקַּחְתִּי
רִצּוֹתִי וְגו'. With G go mlt. MSS. T²S.

(4) אֶת אֶת:

I Chr. 21:12 ἡ (> 19. 74. 93. 108. Compl. Ambr.) τρία ἔτη
λιμοῦ, ἡ τρεῖς μῆνας ἡ τρεῖς ἡμέρας / אֶת שְׁלוֹשׁ שָׁנִים רָעָב
וְאֶת שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים וְאֶת שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים.

(5) $\dot{\text{ה}} \dots \dot{\text{ה}} :$

I Esdr. 8:24 = Ezr. 7:26 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$,
 $\dot{\eta}$ ($\mu\eta$ B. 55 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ N) $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ $\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\dot{\eta}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\dot{\eta}$ / $\dot{\text{ה}} \text{למוח } \dot{\text{ה}} \text{לשרשו } \dot{\text{ה}} \text{לענש נכסין ולאסורין}$.

2. In a passage wanting in \mathfrak{H} :

Num. 15:6 $\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu \pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\epsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \dot{\eta}$ ($B\mathfrak{S}^h > AF$, *rell*) $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\mu\alpha$
 $\dot{\eta}$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$.

(c) $\dot{\eta}$ alternating with a negative

Exod. 15:11 Σ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\sigma\omega\theta\eta\eta\alpha\acute{\iota}$
 $\tau\iota\varsigma \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, $\dot{\eta}$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\iota \gamma\omicron\upsilon\nu \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\omega\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$ (s. Field) free for מִי כִנְיָהּ
 $\text{בְּאֵלִים יְחִוּהָ מִי כִנְיָהּ נֶאֱדָר בְּקֶדֶשׁ}$.

Ezek. 3:5 f. $\delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \omicron\upsilon \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \lambda\alpha\delta\nu \dots \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon} \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \dot{\eta}$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon} \sigma\tau\iota\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\dot{\eta}$ $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\eta \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ does
 not belong here; see above a. 2. b. Note that \mathfrak{G} read לֹא אֵל רַבִּים
 $\text{עֲבָדִים} = \mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U} / \text{לֹא} (\Sigma \text{לֹא})$.

Job 34:8 $\dot{\eta}$ comes from Θ as a continuation of vs. 7b; in the
 original \mathfrak{G} it undoubtedly read $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ as a continuation of $\omicron\upsilon\chi \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\text{-}$
 $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma = \text{בְּלִי פֶשַׁע} \dots$ vs. 6b. The following tran-
 script will show in vss. 6–8 the parts coming from Θ and therefore
 wanting in the pre-Origenian \mathfrak{G} :

$\text{עַל בִּשְׁפָטִי אֶחָב}^6 \quad \acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\hat{\omega} \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota} \mu\omicron\nu$
 $\text{; אֶחָב חֲצִי בְלִי פֶשַׁע} \quad \times \Theta(\mathfrak{S}^h) \beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\alpha\nu \tau\acute{\omicron} \beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \mu\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$
 $\text{; מִי גִבֹר כְּאִיֹּב} \quad \times \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \text{'I}\acute{\omega}\beta$,
 $\text{; יִשְׁתַּחֲלַע כְּמִים} \quad \times \pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu \mu\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \text{'U}\delta\omega\rho$; \mathfrak{J}
 $\text{; וְאִרְחָה לַחֲבֵרָה עִם פְּעֻלִּי אֹן} \quad \text{---} \omicron\upsilon\chi \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\omega}\nu (-\tau\alpha\nu\omega\nu \mathfrak{N}) \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\text{-}$
 $\sigma\alpha\varsigma \mathfrak{J}$, $^\circ \dot{\eta} \acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\upsilon^\circ$ (249 $\eta \omicron\upsilon\delta \omicron\upsilon$ B. Sixt.
 $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ A. 23. \mathfrak{CB} $\eta \omicron\upsilon\delta \omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma$ 260 $\omicron\upsilon\delta$
 $\omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma \mathfrak{N}^{c,a}$ C. 110. 137–139. 147. 157.
 160. 161. 248. 250–259. 261. Compl.
 \mathfrak{J} $\omicron\upsilon \delta \omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Ald. $\omicron\upsilon \delta \omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma$ 106) $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\text{-}$
 $\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma (+ \acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\upsilon \mathfrak{AC}) \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} (+ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ 106.
alii) $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu \tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$,

The insertion from $\Theta > \mathfrak{CB}$; note that both read $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in vs. 8;
 vs. 7b alone > 261 . On the other hand, we find the obelized
 passage in vs. 8 > 139 . 147. 256.

3. $\epsilon\iota$ var. η^{16} η^{17} Hebrew $\text{אם}(\text{ו})$ ה ,¹⁸ או ה ,¹⁹
 ו ה ,²⁰ ה ה ,²¹ ה ,²² ו ²³

4. η , that is, the initial question is not marked by an interrogative particle.²⁴ Hebrew: אם ה ,²⁵ או ה ,²⁶
 ו ה ,²⁷ ו ²⁸

5. In a number of passages, the double question is due to corruption in the Greek texts,²⁹ or to a plus representing a reminiscence from elsewhere,³⁰ or to freedom of translation,³¹ or to inexact exegesis,³² or to a variant in the "Vorlage."³³

¹⁶ In classical Greek, η η is found mainly in epic literature, both in direct and indirect questions; $\epsilon\iota$ η also outside the epic literature and never in direct questions (Kühner-Gerth, II², § 589, 12 and 14). $\epsilon\iota$ in direct questions is peculiar to New Testament Greek (Blass, § 77, 2; Blass calls attention to the usage in \mathfrak{E} and designates it, in agreement with Viteau, as a Hebraism, "als Übersetzung für hebr. ה ;" one fails, however, to see how the Hebrew influence should have induced the use of $\epsilon\iota$ in preference to πότερον or μή). The variation in the codices is such that it is impossible to tell whether η η or $\epsilon\iota$ η was the original. E. g., in indirect questions, Num. 13:19(18) καὶ ὀφείσθε τὸν λαὸν η (η AF. 29. Compl. Lips.) $\text{ισχυρότερός ἐστιν ἡ ἀσθενής}$, η ($\epsilon\iota$ AF. 16. 18. 32. 54. 56. 131. Cat Nic. Aug. Slav. Ostrog. \mathfrak{SbC} καὶ εἰ 75) $\text{ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν ἡ πολλοί}$; *ibid.*, 20(19) καὶ τίς ἡ γῆ η ($\epsilon\iota$ AM. 15. 16. 18. 32. 44. 52. 64. 71. 74-76. 106. 118. 130. 131. 134. Compl. Lips. Cat Nic. Aug. Georg. \mathfrak{A} codd. ed. $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{SbC}$) $\text{καλὴ ἐστὶν ἡ πονηρά}$ $\text{καὶ τίνες αἱ πόλεις}$ η (B. 15. 29. 54. 75. 106. Compl. \mathfrak{E} > \mathfrak{A} codd. ed. \mathfrak{Sb} $\epsilon\iota$ *rell*) $\text{ἐν τειχίρῃσιν ἡ ἐν ἀτειχίσταῖς}$; *ibid.*, 21(20) καὶ τίς ἡ γῆ , η ($\epsilon\iota$ GF Holmes-Parsons N. 15. 16. 18. 32. 44. 56. 64. 74. 76. 106. 118. 130. 131. 134. Georg. $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{SbC}$ > \mathfrak{A} codd. ed.) πίων ἡ παρεμύην , η (BF. 29. 82. \mathfrak{E} $\epsilon\iota$ *rell*) $\text{ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ δένδρα ἡ οὐ}$. For direct questions comp., e. g., Jud. 20:28 $\epsilon\iota$ (\mathfrak{A} > 1. ed.) $\text{προσθῶμεν ἐτι ἐξελεθῆν}$ η ἐπισχῶμεν ; II Chron. 18:5 $\epsilon\iota$ πορευθῶ η ἐπίσχω ; Isa. 66:8 $\epsilon\iota$ (η \mathfrak{N}) $\text{ὠδινεν γῆ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μία}$, η $\text{καὶ ἐτέχθη ἔθνος εἰς ἅπας}$.

¹⁷ Frequently we meet with the variant $\epsilon\iota$. When $\epsilon\iota$ precedes, the combination $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\iota$ ensues. But we may be dealing with mere orthographic variants (itacism).

¹⁸ Twenty-nine times. Job 13:25 is included, on the assumption that \mathfrak{E} read וּאֵת וְאֵת .

¹⁹ Eccl. 2:19; 11:6. ²⁰ II Chron. 19:2. ²¹ Num. 13:19(18). ²² Micah 6:7.

²³ Micah 6:8. It is also possible that \mathfrak{E} read הַנִּיר, הַהֲנִיר .

²⁴ E. g., Josh. 5:13 $\text{ἡμέτερος εἰ ἡ τῶν ὑπεναντίων}$; / $\text{הֲלֹנו אִתָּה אִם לְצִרְנו}$. Job 22:3 τί γάρ precedes.

²⁵ Ten times.

²⁶ Job 38:31.

²⁷ Job 40:24(29).

²⁸ Mal. 2:13 (\mathfrak{E} read מֵאֵן and took the rest as a question; prm $\epsilon\iota$ 22. Chrys. καὶ εἰ \mathfrak{A} ms. ed.).

²⁹ Isa. 28:24 $\text{μὴ ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀροτριάσει ὁ ἀροτριῶν}$; η ($\epsilon\iota$ 63 apparently a corruption for $\epsilon\iota$ 22, 36, 48, 93, 144, 147, 308; οὐ 26) $\text{σπόρον προετοιμάσει}$ (prm η 22, 36, 48, 62, 93, 144, 147, 308; in that case $\mu\eta$ η = η) / $\text{יִפְתַּח לְזֶרַע הַחֲרֹשׁ יַחֲרֹשׁ הַחֲרֹשׁ לְזֶרַע יִפְתַּח}$.

³⁰ Isa. 50:2 η $\text{ἐβάρυνα τὸ οὖς μου τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι}$ 239, 306, a reminiscence from 59:1.

³¹ Job 34:12 $\text{οἷη δὲ τὸν κύριον ἄσπτα ποιήσῃν}$; η $\text{ὁ παντοκράτωρ ταραξεί κρίσιν}$; The Hebrew has the same thought in an asseverative form: $\text{אֵם אִמְנֵם אֵל לֹא יִרְשִׁיעַ וְשָׁדִי לֹא יִרְשִׁיעַ מִשְׁפָּט}$; יַעֲרֹת מִשְׁפָּט ; Isa. 59:1 $\text{μὴ οὐκ ἰσχύει ἡ χεὶρ Κυρίου τοῦ σῶσαι}$; η $\text{ἐβάρυνεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι}$; / $\text{קָצְרָה יֵד יְהוָה מְהוֹשִׁיעַ וְלֹא כִבְדָּה אָזְנוֹ מִשְׁמוֹעַ}$. With still greater freedom Job 9:26 η ($\epsilon\iota$ 106, 137-139, 147, 161, 248, 250, 252, 255, 256, 258, 261. Compl. Chrys. > \mathfrak{A}) $\text{καὶ ἐστὶν ναυσὶν ἰχθὺς ὁδοῦ, ἡ ἀετοῦ πετομένου ζῆγοντος βορᾶν}$; / $\text{כִּנְפֹר עִם אֲנִיּוֹת אֲבָה}$. $\text{כִּנְשֵׁר יִרְשֵׁעַ עַלִּי אֲכַל}$.

³² Job 40:3(8) $\text{Γ. οἷε δὲ ἡ βραχίων σοὶ ἐστιν}$; / $\text{לֹךְ וְאֵם זָרוֹעַ}$. הַרְשִׁיעֵנִי ($\epsilon\iota$ A evidently in an interrogative sense) took the conditional particle (= Arabic إِنْ) in

(b) *In Single Interrogation*

Hebrew: ה, ³⁴אם(ו), ³⁵האם, ³⁶no particle.³⁷

For *ἥ* in the single question, we meet with the variants εἰ, ³⁸μή.³⁹

In a number of passages, the presence of the interrogative particle is due to freedom of translation,⁴⁰ or to a variant in the "Vorlage."⁴¹

the sense of an interrogative (= Arabic ^عأ). Ezek. 28:3 *μή σοφώτερος εἶ σου τοῦ Δανιήλ*; *ἥ* (A. Sixt. > BQ. 48. 51. 231. Compl.) *σοφοί κτλ.*; / וגור' כל מדניאל אתה חכם הנה, apparently taken as an interrogative (B = Orig.). *Ibid.*, 4 f. *μή ἐν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ σου . . . ἥ* (AQ. 23. 26. 36. 42. 48. 49. 51. 62. 68. 87. 88. 90. 91. 106. 147. 228. 231. 233. 239. 306. Compl. Ald. Hieron.) *ἐν τῇ πολλῇ ἐπιστήμῃ σου / ברב חכמתך . . . בחכמתך*, understood in the same manner.

³³Jer. 11:15 *μή εὐχαὶ καὶ κρέα ἁγία ἀφελούσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰς κακίας σου, ἥ τούτοις διαφεύξῃ*; = הכרבים ובשר קדש יעברו מעניך רעתני או (א) תהלצי. Jer. 14:9 *μή (ἥ) ἔσῃ . . . ἥ (καὶ 22. 36. 48. 51. 62. 88. 96. 198. 231) ὡς ἀνὴρ κτλ.*; = כגבור . . . התהיה . . . כגבור (ללך) at the end of the preceding verse, or we have haplography in the "Vorlage". Contrast Jud. 11:25 *τοῦ δικασμένου δίκην 54. 55. 59. 75* in a doublet = *הרב / הרב / רב*. In the following passages, the restoration of the "Vorlage" cannot be attempted: Job 37:20 *μή βίβλος ἡ γραμματεὺς / לו' / היספר לו'*; Isa. 23:8 *μή ἦσαν (ἦσαν Γ νοσων 147) ἐστίν, ἥ οὐκ ἰσχύει*; / *המעטירה אשר*; Isa. 40:19 *μή (καὶ Euseb.) εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν τέκτων . . . ἥ (N c. a. postea ras. 36. 48. 51. 90. 93. 106. 109. 144. 228. 233. 302. 308. Slav. Mosq. et B) ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν*; / *ורתקות כסה צורה המסכן תרומה*.

³⁴Thirty-one times in E, twice in A, 3 times in Σ, 3 times in Θ. E. g., Exod. 10:7 *ἥ (μὴ 32 εἰ δὲ μὴ 19. 103 ἀρα 75 B) εἰδέναι βούλει ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν Αἴγυπτος*; / *השרם תדע כי אברה* מצרים.

³⁵Three times in E, 3 times in A, once in Σ, twice in Θ. E. g., Job 6:30 *ἥ ὁ λάρυγξ μου οὐχὶ ᾗ (οὐχὶ δὲ ὁ λ. μου 249. Ald οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ λ. μου A B) σύνεσιν μελετᾷ*; / *אס הכי לא יבין*. In B second part of a double question; but the first part was turned by the translator into an asseveration (with inserted negative): *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν γλώσσῃ μου ἄδίκον* / *היש בלשני עולה*.

³⁶Job 6:13 first half (>251. 261. B) *ἥ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπεποθίνε*; / *האם אין עזרתי בי* (E evidently read *בר*).

³⁷I Kings 21:(15)16 *ἥ (AN. 19. 29. 44. 55. 56. 71. 74. 93. 106. 108. 119-121. 134. 158. 243-246. Compl. ἥ 82 μὴ rel > B. 247) ἐλαττοῦμαι ἐπιλήπτων ἐγώ* / *הסר משגעים אני*. I Kings 22:15 *ἥ (εἰ 71. 106. 242. 247. Ald. ἥ 134 ὡς A > E) σήμερον ἡργμαι κτλ.*; / *היום החלתי וגו'*.

³⁸E. g., I Kings 10:11, 44. 56. 74. 106. 120. 134. 144. 158. 246.

³⁹E. g., *ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁰II Kings 3:25 *ἥ (καὶ 158 > A) οὐκ οἶδας* / *ידעת*. Job 41:2(3) *ἥ οὐχὶ ᾗ (A 23 > E εἰ cet) πᾶσα ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐμὴ ἐστιν*; / *תחת כל השמים לי הוא*. Isa. 37:11 *ἥ (AAOQ. 24. 26. 49. 86. 106. 109. 198. 233. 302. 305. Georg. μὴ 41 ἥ σὺ 239. 306. σὺ rel) οὐκ ἡκουσας* / *הנה שמיעת*.

⁴¹II Kings 14:13 *ἥ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ βασιλέως κτλ.*; / *המדבר המלך* (= *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λαλεῖν τὸν βασιλέα* Compl.; *Α καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παρελθεῖν τὸν β.*); Job 35:3 *ἥ ἐρεῖς (+ τί κατενθύνει σοι ἥ 249. B) τί ποιήσω ἁμαρτῶν*; (N c. a. AC. 23. 55. 106. 110. 137-139. 147. 157. 160. 250-256. 258-261. Ald. S B B C) / *כי תאמר מה יסכן לך מה אעיל מחטאתי* (= *ὅτι κτλ.* Compl.); 38:14 *ἥ σὺ λαβὼν γῆν πηλὸν ἐπλάσας ὥσων / תהפך כחמר חותם*. Jer. 2:10 *ἥ (N* εἰ rel) γέγονεν τοιαῦτα = הן היתה כזאת / הנהיתה כזאת*.

III. ה COMPARATIVE

1. The adjective in the comparative,⁴² but also, in keeping with the Hebrew, in the positive.⁴³ Verbs may and may not have μάλλον after them.⁴⁴ The variants in the codices consist in the parallel constructions: the genitive of comparison,⁴⁵ παρά or ὑπέρ.⁴⁶ We meet also with the variant ἥπερ.⁴⁷ The Hebrew equivalent is בן.⁴⁸

2. Phrases:

(a) ἄλλο τι ἢ = כִּי אִם IV Kings 9:35 (varr. ἀλλ' ἢ Ἀ ἄλλ' ὅτι ἢ 119; ἄλλο τι > 253. 244).

(b) πρὶν ἢ, construed with the infinitive,⁴⁹ the indicative of the aorist⁵⁰ or future,⁵¹ the subjunctive of the aorist,⁵² or with an adverb

NOTE.—Hos. 6:6 is וְלֹא taken freely in the sense of בן. A different text underlies Job 20:2 καὶ οὐχὶ συνίετε μάλλον ἢ καὶ ἐγώ / בִּי וּבַעֲבוּר הַיּוֹשִׁי; Prov. 27:6 ἢ ἐκούσια / וְנִתְּנוּ; perhaps also Ps. 132(133):1 τί καλὸν ἢ τί τερπνόν, ἢ (pr̄m ἀλλ' S^c.^a ART. Sixt.) το κατοικεῖν / בְּתוֹכָם שְׂמֵחַ וְנִיחָא. Faulty interpretation we find Mal. 2:15 καὶ εἶπατε τί ἄλλο (+ ἀλλ' QF. Compl.) ἢ σπέρμα ζητεῖ ὁ θεός; / וְנִיחָא הַחֵדֶּה מִבֶּרֶךְ וְרַע אֱלֹהִים; harmless "Verschönerung" (Peters) Sir. 4:10 καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε μάλλον ἢ μήτηρ σου / מִיִּצְיֹןךָ מִשְׁהָתָה. II Kings 13:15 μερίζων ἢ κακία ἢ ἐσχάτη ° ἢ ἢ πρώτη ° (< 71) > 71 = AN. 19. 29. 55. 56. 64. 82. 93. 108. 121^t. 158. 244. 245. 247. Compl. Ald. Slav. C. Prov. 16:7, the verse > 71.

⁴² E. g., Gen. 29:19 βέλτιον δοῦναι με αὐτὴν σοὶ ἢ δοῦναι με αὐτὴν ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ.

⁴³ E. g., Gen. 49:12 καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα.

⁴⁴ E. g., Gen. 19:9 νῦν οὖν σὲ κακώσομεν μάλλον ἢ ἐκείνους; on the other hand, 38:26 δεδικαίωται Θαμάρ ἢ ἐγώ.

⁴⁵ Num. 22:6 ἰσχύει οὗτος ἢ ἡμεῖς var. ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν AM^t. 15. 16. 19. 28. 30. 32. 55. 64. 73. 77. 82. 85^f. 108. 130*. 131. Compl. Ald. Lips. Cat Nic. (ἰσχυρότερός μου 57).

⁴⁶ Josh. 10:11 καὶ ἐγένοντο πλείους οἱ ἀποθανόντες . . . ° ἢ οὗς ° (παρ' ὅσους F* Holmes-Pars.) ἀπέκτειναν κτλ. Jud. 16:30 καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τεθνηκότες . . . πλείους ἢ (ὁπέρ AGM. 15. 18. 30. 44. 54. 64. 71. 75. 76. 82. 84. 106. 108. 128. 134. Ald.) οὗς ἐθανάτωσεν κτλ.

⁴⁷ E. g., Gen. 19:9, 32.

⁴⁸ Sixty times in C, once in A, 7 times in S.

⁴⁹ E. g., Sir. 48:25 πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι ταῦτα; Gen. 29:26 δοῦναι τὴν νεωτέραν πρὶν ἢ (sc. δοῦναι) τὴν πρεσβυτέραν.

⁵⁰ E. g., Prov. 8:26 Ἄς πρὶν ἢ ἐποίησε γῆν.

⁵¹ I Kings 13:12 Σ καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου λιτανεύσω, καὶ βιασθεὶς ἀνήνεγκα τὴν ὀλοκαύτως σὶν σου.

⁵² E. g., Sir. 11, 7 πρὶν ἢ (ΣA. 23. 55. 248. 254. 307. Compl. > rell) ἐξετάσῃ (-άσαι 106 -άσεις 157).

THE EZRA STORY IN ITS ORIGINAL SEQUENCE

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Any attempt to "restore the original form" of an ancient document, by rearranging its chapters, paragraphs, or verses, ought to be met with suspicion and subjected to the severest criticism. In the great majority of cases, either the traditional form can fairly claim to be the original one, in spite of seeming contradictions, or else the evidence enabling us to make a *sure* restoration is not to be had. Many of the grave inconsistencies which trouble us did not disturb the author himself, simply because he understood, better than we do, what he meant to say. Even where it is a demonstrated fact that the text which lies before us has suffered from transposition of some sort, it is not enough for the would-be restorer to rearrange the passages logically, or symmetrically, or so as to bring the whole into perfect accord with some plausible theory. Very many ancient writers did not bind themselves to observe logical sequence; did not care especially for symmetry; and would have been greatly astonished, or angered, or amused, if they could have heard attributed to them the views which they are now believed to have held. It is not our concern, after all, to find the best possible arrangement of the material—that would often be very easy; our business is to find the arrangement actually made by the author—and that is usually very difficult. Nevertheless, perfectly convincing reconstructions by transposition, based solely on internal evidence, are sometimes possible; the history of literature contains a good many instances. In each case it is simply a question of whether the evidence can satisfy the rigorous tests which the nature of the problem demands. The proposed new arrangement must really remove the difficulties which it is designed to overcome; it must create no new difficulties; it must enable us to explain how the disorder was brought about; it must give clear evidence of being the order originally planned

by the author himself, and must harmonize with all that we certainly know regarding his purposes and methods; and it must be recognized as the *only* order which can meet these requirements. If any single link in the chain of evidence is missing, or defective, the critical theory may be tolerated, but it cannot be accepted as demonstrated. I am confident that it will be agreed that the demonstration given in the following pages is a conclusive one, and that this is a case in which the original order of a disarranged narrative has been restored with certainty.

In all the narrative part of the Old Testament, there is nowhere else such an appearance of chaos as in the story of Ezra, as it stands in our received text. Part of it is found in one place, and part in another. Moreover, the two principal fragments, thus separated from each other, are incoherent in themselves. No one of our modern interpreters has succeeded in obtaining a continuous and comprehensible account of events from either Ezr. 7-10 or Neh. 8-10. The sequence of the several scenes is plainly out of order; the chronology is all wrong; and the bearing of the successive (?) incidents upon one another is far from clear. Ezra makes his journey to Judea in order to teach and administer the law (Ezr. 7:10, 14, 25 f.), but it is not until thirteen years (!) after his arrival that he first presents it to the people (Neh. 8:2, cf. 1:1 and Ezr. 7:8). In Ezr. 9, the people are rebuked for a grievous sin against the law, the manner of the rebuke implying obviously that the law was already known to them; and their representative, indeed, after confessing the transgression, proposes to make reparation "*according to the law*" (10:3).¹ But in the narrative as it now lies before us, the

¹That the public reading of the law had already taken place, is necessarily implied not only in 10:3, but also, and only a little less obviously, in 9:1, 4, 10 ff., 14. The "commandments of God," which the people had "forsaken" and "broken," were the commandments of the written law; they could not possibly have been anything else. Those who "trembled at the words of the God of Israel" (9:4, 10:3) were those who were dismayed at the transgression of statutes which were definitely known to them; the context in each case makes this certain. Bertholet, in his remarks on Ezr. 9:1 (*Comm.*, pp. 38 f.), declares that Ezra's reform in the matter of foreign wives was "vorbereitet durch die Gedankenwelt des Deuteronomiums, eines Hesekiel, Maleachi und Tritojesaja," but this is a very lame explanation. It is sufficiently obvious that when Ezra tore his clothes, pulled out some of the hair of his head and beard, and spoke and prayed in such passionate language of the "great guilt" of the people, he was not reproaching them for a sin against a *Gedankenwelt*! In order to argue in this way, it is necessary that one should first shut his eyes. It is not only said, in so many words (10:3), that the people already know the

law had not yet been made known! Furthermore, although this evil of mixed marriages is discovered and corrected soon after Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem, the time when the people formally repent of it, in solemn assembly, and vow never to do so again, is thirteen years later (Neh. 9:1).

The manifest incongruity between Neh. 8 and the two following chapters has also been the subject of much comment. There is nothing in the narrative as it now stands which can account for the sackcloth and ashes in 9:1. Or it would be a more correct statement of the case to say, that the reason for the mourning is given, but is incomprehensible in the present form of the story. Kusters, *Wiederherstellung Israels* (1895), pp. 85 f., remarks that the occasion of the penitential ceremony in chap. 9 was, plainly, the separation of Israel from foreigners. This is indeed made evident by the two passages, 9:2 and 10:29-31; the former of which must necessarily be regarded, because of its position, as giving the principal reason for the assembly, while the other, for a like reason, must be held to give the primary feature of the solemn covenant.² Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*¹, p. 135, n. 2, feels the same difficulty as Kusters, and says: "Wunderlich an seiner Stelle ist der erste Satz von Neh. 9:2." But Wellhausen certainly would not wish to suggest that the first clause of this verse is not in its

Torah, the fact is also certainly implied in the account of the way in which they received Ezra's rebuke (10:2 ff., 12 ff.). In Neh. 8:9, 13 it is made plain that the commandments of the law were quite new to all, princes, priests, and common people alike, when Ezra first read them. In Ezra 9 and 10, on the contrary, the people accept as indisputable the charge that they have grievously transgressed; they themselves know what commandments have been broken; and Ezra in his prayer for them actually quotes (loosely) the words of Lev. 18:24 f., 27, Deut. 7:3, 23:7, 11:8. This was a part of that law which he had come to teach—and had already taught. What is more, it was not Ezra who discovered this "trespass of the exiles," it was certain of their own leaders. 9:1 says: "When these things were finished, the chief men drew near to me, saying: The people of Israel . . . have not separated themselves from the peoples of the land," etc., and these princes thereupon proceed to quote from the laws in question (vss. 1, 2)! This is either the sequel of Neh. 8, or else it is inexplicable.

²No neater demonstration of this exegetical necessity could be asked than is furnished by the "Neapolitan Synopsis" of the Old Testament, published by Lagarde in his *Septuaginta Studien* II. The following is its summary of that part of the Ezra narrative which is contained in the book of Nehemiah (*ibid.*, p. 84, ll. 27-34): . . . καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἑσδρας ἀναγινώσκων διέστειλεν ἐπιστήμῃ κυρίου, ὁ δὲ λαὸς συνήκεν ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει. καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἐποίησε τὴν νηστείαν καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ὡς γέγραπται. . . . Ἑσδρας δὲ ἑωρακὼς ἐπιμειγίσας γυναῖκας ἀζωπῶν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, πενήθσας, ἔπεισε πάντας ἐπαγγέλλασθαι φυλάττειν τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐξέβαλε τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς παράνομον γάμον. καὶ ὤμοσαν φυλάξαι τὸν νόμον.

right place in the chapter. The trouble is, of course, that the preceding narration has not prepared the way for such a scene as this. That is, just as Ezr. 9 must have been preceded by an account of the public reading of the law, so Neh. 9 must have followed directly after a chapter which told of the separation from foreign wives.

And just here the fact also stares us in the face that the story of Ezra's reform is not suitably concluded by Ezr. 10:44, even when the verse is restored to its original form (see below). We should expect to see at least some promise for the future, some indication that the misery, the crime against human nature, wrought on this occasion made such an impression on the people that they took measures to prevent the recurrence of anything of the sort. The subject could not have been dismissed with this one verse following the list of names. No modern commentator has doubted that the original narrative continuation has been accidentally cut off, or displaced, in some way.

It is abundantly evident, from all this, that the trouble with the story of Ezra lies simply in the transposition of a passage, namely the passage which contains the account of the reading of the law. Aside from the internal evidence, we have also external evidence that transposition of some sort took place, for in the old Greek version (I Esdras) and Josephus the four Ezra chapters (7-10) are immediately followed by the three Nehemiah chapters (8-10).³ The sequence of the chapters there is an absolutely impossible one, to be sure, yet this witness to the tradition that all seven of them originally formed one continuous piece is very valuable.

The obvious way of removing all the difficulties thus far mentioned is, as I showed in my *Composition*, pp. 29-34, to restore Neh. 8 to its original place between Ezr. 8 and 9. The key to the solution of the whole problem lies in the neglected and misunderstood passage Neh. 7:70-73 (69-72). If it had not been for these four verses, the disarrangement of the Ezra story would never have taken place; in consequence, the restoration of the true order must begin with them. As soon as the peculiarities of

³ See above, XXIII, 136 f.

their form and surroundings are observed, it becomes evident that they furnish the desired explanation of the whole process. All modern interpreters have regarded Neh. 7:70-73 as a mere variant of Ezr. 2:68-70. Some ancient interpreter conceived the same idea, and wrought great mischief as a result. As a matter of fact, the two passages differ considerably in their contents, and were written for very different occasions. Why the remarkable disagreement between them, and who has ever explained it? There is a third passage, I Chron. 29:6-8, which resembles them almost as closely as they resemble each other, and all three simply illustrate the Chronicler's well-known habit of repeating himself.

We have already seen that the narrative of the first public reading of the law, which is the immediate sequel of the four verses mentioned, must have preceded Ezr. 9. That being the case, it is startling to observe that the four verses are the natural continuation of Ezr. 8. That is, in fact, the *only* context which suits them. Ezr. 8:33-36 had just recounted how the gifts of gold and silver brought from Babylon were delivered in Jerusalem, where they were to be used "for the service of the house of God" (7:19, 8:25); how the sacrifices were then offered in the temple; and how, finally, the king's satraps and governors in the Transflumen gave their aid to the cult in Jerusalem (8:36). Then would follow, almost of necessity, some statement regarding the aid which the leaders of the Jews themselves gave to the service of the temple (לְמִלְאָה, Neh. 7:70). This is precisely what we have in Neh. 7:70-72. Furthermore, the statement that "the priests, the Levites, and the people," and so on, those who had come from Babylonia, settled down "in their cities" (vs. 73a) is just as indispensable at the end of the story of the expedition under Ezra (Ezr. 8) as it was in the case of that under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr. 2). To sum the matter up, the passage Neh. 7:70-73 is necessary as the sequel of Ezr. 8; while it is quite out of place in the story of Nehemiah, and inexplicable as a variant of Ezr. 2:68-70.

It is evident, then, that if we should cut out the whole passage Neh. 7:70(69)—8:18 from its present context, and put it between Ezr. 8 and 9, every difficulty resulting from the present order of

chapters and sections in the Ezra story would disappear. In addition to the points already mentioned, the sore need of a sequel to Ezr. 10:44 and of a suitable context for Neh. 9:1f. would also be supplied, the one chapter being followed directly by the other. The probability that we have found at last the passage whose transposition brought about all the mischief in Ezra-Nehemiah becomes at once very strong.

But it is first necessary to show why and how the transfer was made, and how it happened that a part of the Ezra story was put into the book of Nehemiah. The mistaken arrangement was made by a copyist; and as already observed, the resemblance of the passage Neh. 7:70-73 to its counterpart Ezr. 2:68-70 was the cause of the error. The two passages would inevitably seem to a copyist to be one and the same, with their generally identical phraseology;⁴ and what is more, each is immediately continued by the words: "And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel being in their cities, the people assembled." The man who wrought the mischief, therefore, holding in his memory the continuation of the "great list" Ezr. 2:2-67 by verses 68-70 and 3:1, attached the similar passage, with its sequel, the story of the reading of the law, to the end of the same list in Nehemiah. He had just copied, we may suppose, the book of Ezra as far as 8:36, and then saw in the next following section what he believed to be the true sequel of the list in Neh. 7. He accordingly transferred the section, which of course included the story of the reading of the law (cf. Neh. 7:73*b* and the beginning of 8:1 with Ezr. 3:1!), to the book of Nehemiah.⁵

⁴The mention of the "Tirshatha" in Neh. 7:70 would also immediately suggest the occurrence of the word just before, in vs. 65 (Ezr. 2:63)!

⁵Such transpositions, more or less consciously made, are familiar enough in the history of the manuscript transmission of ancient documents. It sometimes happens, indeed, that transcribers perform feats which might well have been deemed impossible. For example, in the manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, immediately after John 8:2 stands a colophon, "*End of the Gospel of John.*" etc.! The explanation is presumably this, that in some old manuscripts of the Gospels the pericope *de adultera*, 7:53-8:11, was placed at the end as a sort of appendix, and that in at least one such codex the transposed section contained merely 8:3-11 (cf. the transposition of Neh. 7:73 ff., instead of vss. 70 ff., in 1 Esdras!). Then, in the Syriac manuscript from which the text of the Lectionary was derived, this appendix, 8:3-11, was again transferred, this time being put back into what was naturally supposed to be its original place (cf. 1 Esdras). But along with it was transferred the colophon of the Gospel, which stood just before it! (See the

This transfer was an easy one, requiring hardly any thought at all; but when it was once made it was certain to be permanent, at least so far as the verses 70-73a were concerned, since they would henceforth always be regarded as a mere repetition of Ezr. 2:68-70. Moreover, the transfer—and this was possibly not foreseen at first by the one who made it—rendered a second transposition absolutely necessary. The chapters containing the story of the people's repentance, and of the covenant which they made, alluded in more than one place to *the public reading of the law by Ezra* (Neh. 9: 3, 10: 29 f., 35, 37), and it was therefore obviously and totally impossible that they should precede Neh. 8. The only thing that could be done with them was to put them immediately after the last-named chapter. There can be little doubt that this was done by the same copyist-editor who had begun the rearrangement—for he cannot have failed to see the necessity of this second step; but whether by him or by another, it must in any case have been accomplished very soon. Thus it came about that the "great list" in Neh. 7 received this most incongruous sequel: the account of the gifts to the temple on Ezra's arrival (Neh. 7: 70-73a); the reading of the law (73b-8:18); and the two chapters (Neh. 9 f.) which had originally formed the end of the Ezra story, immediately preceding the first chapter of Nehemiah. Ezr. 9 and 10 were of course left where they were, as the account of the work performed by Ezra in his "first period." Thus the books of Ezra and Nehemiah received their present shape,⁶ by a process each step of which is perfectly comprehensible. The first step was almost mechanical, and might even have been purely accidental; the rest then followed inevitably.

The date of this transposition of chapters was probably near the end of the third century B. C., at about the time when the Story of the Three Youths was interpolated in the first chapter

Palest. Syr. Lect., ed. Lewis and Gibson, p. xv, where an explanation similar to this is given on the authority of Rendel Harris.) This is by no means an isolated instance of the stupidity of a copyist.

⁶ The mixing of the Ezra story with that of Nehemiah naturally brought about the interpolation of Nehemiah's name in certain passages where "the governor" was mentioned. On the form and history of these interpolations see below, the notes on Neh. 8:9 and (especially) 10:2.

of Ezra, as already described. For some reason which we can only conjecture,⁷ the rearranged edition completely supplanted the original one. Not long after, some one made the attempt to restore the Ezra chapters to the book of Ezra; it was a matter of tradition that they had once formed a part of it. The best that he could do, naturally, was to chop out Neh. 7:73 (!)—10:40, and put it between Ezr. 10:44 and Neh. 1:1; and this did not by any means remove the existing difficulties. His version gained such acceptance, however, that it was the standard recension at least from the early part of the second century B. C. until the time of the historian Josephus (cf. what I have said in regard to "Edition B" in the chapter dealing with the Nature and Origin of First Esdras). Even before the time of this last transposition, the interpolation of Nehemiah's name into the three ill-gotten chapters of his book had begun to take place, judging from I Esdr. 5:40 (= Ezr. 2:63), *Νεεμίας* (!) *καὶ Ἀπαρτίας*.⁸ This interpolation was afterward made in other places (already mentioned) in "Edition A," and their presence was doubtless the chief reason why this latter recension was ultimately made authoritative.

I print here the story of Ezra in its original sequence, as the best possible demonstration of the correctness of the conclusions just stated. How does one who is attempting to restore a dissected map or picture know when he has succeeded? The story as here arranged shows perfect order instead of complete chaos, the obvious design of the narrator carried out in a harmonious way from beginning to end. It is the one arrangement to which logic compels, a dozen different lines of argument all pointing in the same direction. And it is the *only* arrangement which can meet all the tests named at the beginning of this chapter. The comparison of the dissected picture is an unjust one in two

⁷ As I have remarked already in several places, the evidence seems to show that the Chronicler's book was little known during the first generation or two after it was written (neither Bar Sira nor the author of Enoch 89:72 had ever heard of Ezra, for example). It may have been a good while before it was copied at all; then when its real vogue began, the copies were made from the rearranged and interpolated edition, which was the *popular* one.

⁸ This means, apparently, that in some text older than Edition B the name "Nehemiah" had been interpolated in Neh. 7:65, and then had been carried over thence, through carelessness, into Ezr. 2:63.

respects, since (1) it suggests numerous pieces, and (2) he who restores the picture has no need to explain the disorder in which he found it. In the case of this narrative, the shifting of one single block, Neh. 7:70—8:18, brings back the original order of the Ezra chapters—a solution whose simplicity puts it in strong contrast with every other one which has been proposed; and the explanation of the displacement, a thing not to be dispensed with, is provided.⁹

Ezra goes to Jerusalem in order to bring back the people to the neglected and forgotten law of their God, i. e. the Pentateuch. He is sent by the king, who gives him full power, and he and his companions carry contributions for the improvement of the temple service. Arriving in Jerusalem, they present their gifts, and the governor and the leaders of the people also contribute liberally. Two months later, at the beginning of the sacred "seventh month," Ezra prepares his great assembly at Jerusalem, and reads the law of Moses in public. The first fruit of the reading (as is fitting) was joy and good cheer, for the people found themselves summoned to undertake at once the celebration of a festival which had been lost to sight. But results of a less pleasant nature were bound to come soon. The restoring of a neglected law means reform. The princes had heard, with dismay, the statute forbidding intermarriage with the heathen, and now come to Ezra to confess the sin of the people. He charges the guilty ones with their crime; they confess, and agree that "the law must be followed" (יֵעָשֶׂה כַּתּוּרָה, Ezr. 10:3). A thorough work of investigation, occupying three

⁹ Professor H. P. Smith, in his *Old Testament History*, adopts my restoration of the Ezra story; but proposes to modify it in one respect, suggesting (p. 393, n. 1) that the list in Neh. 7 also belonged originally to the story of Ezra, Ezr. 8:36 having been continued by Neh. 7:5 ff. What I have written in the preceding pages is perhaps a sufficient answer to such a suggestion, but I will add: (1) There would then be no plausible way of explaining the presence of the chapters in the book of Nehemiah. (2) The passage 7:70-73 would be deprived of any natural connection; and it would look like a mere variant (a very corrupt variant!) of Ezr. 2:68-70. (3) In Ezr. 8 there is no obvious reason for a census; in Neh. 7, on the contrary, vs. 4 prepares for this very thing, and chap. 11 continues it without a break! The Chronicler represents Nehemiah as interested in the census of the community (see also XXIV, pp. 216 f.), and the list there serves an important purpose; while in the Ezra story it could serve no purpose at all. These considerations are quite decisive.

Another Old Testament scholar, Professor H. G. Mitchell, accepts some of my conclusions while rejecting others (*Journal of Bib. Lit.*, 1903, pp. 92 ff.). I think it will be seen that every objection which he raises is fully met in the present chapter. His own hypothesis seems to me to leave both the stories of Ezra and Nehemiah in a hopeless muddle.

months, is instituted, and all the foreign wives and the children born of them are sent away. Then, after a breathing spell of about three weeks, all the people assemble once more at Jerusalem, and the solemn covenant, which crowns the work of Ezra, is drawn up and signed.

Here is a clear and consistent story, the only clear and consistent story dealing with Ezra that has ever been told by any one. That it is the story actually told, in the first place, by the Chronicler himself, is still further attested by *the chronology*. The dates given in such profusion throughout the narrative are now all intelligible for the first time. No other single fact could give so striking a vindication as this of the correctness of my restoration, and for this reason I have printed the successive dates in the margin, so that their mutual relation can be seen at a glance. The "unity of time" in the story also deserves to be emphasized. The initial date of Ezra's undertaking, according to 7:9, was the first day of the first month,¹⁰ in the seventh year of Artaxerxes;¹¹ that is, April 1,¹² 398 B. C. The whole series of events of which he is the hero¹³ occupies just one year and twenty-four days (cf. Neh. 9:1 with Ezr. 10:17). The multiple of twelve is not accidental; notice also how in Ezr. 8:31 the date of the actual beginning of the journey is given as the twelfth day of the first month. Compare the many similar cases, in all parts of the Chronicler's narrative, which have already been mentioned.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to reiterate, that in all this there is not a word said about the introduction of a new law. What is represented is everywhere and consistently this, that the old law, of whose existence the leaders of the people well knew, and whose main prescriptions they were of course following all the time, but which had been sadly neglected, so

¹⁰ Observe that the Chronicler's date for the beginning of the former expedition, under Cyrus, was also the first day of the first month (above, XXIV, 25).

¹¹ Artaxerxes II Mnemon; see above, p. 204.

¹² Merely for the sake of convenience, I have used this inaccurate terminology, calling the first month "April," and so on throughout the year.

¹³ Of course it is to be remembered that the Chronicler brings him in again for a moment, in very characteristic fashion, in the story of Nehemiah, a dozen years later (12:36).

that many of its commands were quite forgotten, was now re-instated in its completeness by one who had authority. This, as I have already shown, is one of the Chronicler's favorite ideas, to which he returns again and again, in his history of Israel. See above, especially pp. 203, 214. More than this, the picture of a revival of the law immediately followed, as a result, by a formal covenant entered into by the people, is one which he delights to paint. According to his narrative in II Chron. 14:4, the Judean king Asa restored the law. It had been neglected then in the same manner as in the time of Ezra; the people had no opportunity to read it, and there was no "expert scribe" to teach it to them. As one of the prophets of Asa's kingdom said (15:3): "Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and *without a teaching priest*, and without law." After the law had been restored, the people gathered together at Jerusalem (vss. 10-13) and entered into a covenant "to seek the Lord, . . . and that whosoever would not seek the Lord should be put to death." So also in 34:32, after repeating from Kings the story of Josiah's public reading of the law, and of the covenant which the king made, the Chronicler adds: "And he caused all who were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God." In like manner after the first reading of the law by Ezra, when the need of the first great reform is seen, one of the leaders of the people says (Ezr. 10:3): "Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God, to put away all such wives," etc. And then finally, after still another public reading and expounding of the law (Neh. 9:3), the people are represented as signing and sealing a more comprehensive covenant, embracing those things which were commonly neglected, and yet (in the mind of the Chronicler) were of the greatest importance. There is never a hint of such a thing as accepting a new law, only the familiar idea of renewing an old one which had been neglected.¹⁴

¹⁴ Bertholet, *Comm.*, pp. 75 f., argues that a chapter must have fallen out after Neh. 9, namely a chapter telling how the people formally pledged themselves to accept "the new law;" Neh. 10, he insists, cannot be the continuation of chap. 9, because in the covenant which it contains nothing is said about adopting any new code! This is perfectly typical

Before leaving the story of Ezra, the question deserves to be raised once more whether some valuable material, however small, for the history of the Persian period may not be found in it. It is the Chronicler's own tale, his composition from beginning to end, that is certain; but even so, every witness in its favor must be given a fair hearing. I have already shown with sufficient detail of proof, that the whole Ezra narrative is motived history, composed with the very same purpose which produced the similar narratives written to supplement the accounts of Samuel and Kings; and that there is not a particle of evidence that any other story of Ezra, written or oral, lies behind this one (see above, pp. 204, 208 f.). The only question that can arise is this, whether the Chronicler has not used events or names of persons which can legitimately be received by us as historical material. But the answer to this question, the only answer justified by the evidence, is an unqualified negative. I have remarked elsewhere upon the fact that the Chronicler, in all this tale, recounts no events at all except such as serve his apologetic purpose. What is told of the Ezra expedition is just that which was narrated of the former "return" in Ezr. 1-3: a royal edict; names of the participants; enumeration of vessels for the temple; special mention (for the purpose of praise or blame) of certain men or groups of men; the fact that the several classes duly occupied "their" cities. So also in the next episode: the same magnificent liberality, and told in the same words, in Neh. 7:70-72 as in Ezr. 2:68 f. and I Chron. 29:6 ff. The account of the reading of the law is merely repeated from the Chronicler's story of the dedication of Solomon's temple, in II Chron. 5-7; it is the very same scene, with the same principal incidents (for details, see my *Comp.*, p. 59). All the ideas found in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, and

of the whole treatment of the Ezra narrative which prevails at present; the rule everywhere followed appears to be this: Let the documents go, but keep the present "critical" theory; never this rule: Let the theory go, but hold to the documents. No part of the Old Testament, in fact, has brought forth so much perverse exegesis as this tale of Ezra. It will doubtless long be customary to cite it as the account of "the introduction of the Priest-code," though this view of it has not the least foundation of any sort. The narrative says nothing of the kind; the laws quoted and accepted in the story *do not belong, as a rule, to the priestly legislation* (read Bertholet, *loc. cit.*, p. 76!); and finally, as I have said elsewhere (XXIV, 270), there is neither evidence nor likelihood that any "Priest-code" ever existed.

most of the phrases in which they are couched, are commonplaces in the Chronicler's history. The story of the reform in the matter of foreign wives differs only in the nature of the case from the stories told by him of the reforms of Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah. The manner of the narrative is just the same, and the properties and personages are as nearly identical as they can be. The details introduced by way of embellishment (Ezra's violent manifestations of grief; the storms of rain; the stairs on which the Levites stood, etc.) are like the similar ones found in every part of the earlier history, devised solely with the purpose of giving life to the story, not in order to give it the semblance of truth—and it does not, indeed, sound in the least like truth. And finally, the account of the signing of the covenant is, as I have just shown, one of the Chronicler's specialties, a thing which he brings into his history over and over again. And all the items of the covenant are those which he reiterates elsewhere, in about the same words, in such chapters as II Chron. 31 and Neh. 13.

In all this there is not a word which sounds like popular tradition, nor a single incident which stands outside the direct line of the Chronicler's tendency. As for names of persons and places, what appears to be opulence in this regard is really the extreme of poverty. We have only the same old threadbare stuff, names of "the chief of the people, the priests, and the Levites" which have been paraded in every chapter of the book since the time of Moses. "Ezra" himself is the personification of the Chronicler's interests, completely identical with the Nehemiah of Neh. 13 and (*mutatis mutandis*) with each of the long list of ecclesiastical heroes and reformers created by the Chronicler and introduced by him into his history of the Judean kingdom. It is a most significant fact, among others, that the Chronicler did not know who the governor of Judea was during the first part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. He could not leave him out, and therefore speaks of him simply as "the Tirshatha" in Neh. 7:70, 8:9, and 10:2 (see the note on the last-named passage).¹⁵ He did have at his command, as a matter

¹⁵ It appears to be a similar instance of caution when he employs the term, without the name, in Ezr. 2:63 and Neh. 7:65. The reason for this is obvious. The prophecy of Haggai gives Zerubbabel the title פֶּהָה "governor," while the Aramaic tale, incorporated by the Chronicler, says expressly (Ezr. 5:14) that Sheshbazzar was the פֶּהָה "governor" of the

of course, a list of the high-priests during the Persian period. Regarding the list, which was probably correct in the main, so far as the names contained in it are concerned, I shall have more to say later. It is uncertain whether he intended the persons named in Ezr. 10:6, "the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib," to belong to the high-priestly line, or not (cf. Neh. 13:4); if that was his intention, so much the worse for his chronology.

Certain words of Bernheim, *Die historische Methode*¹, p. 426, are so nearly applicable to the present case that they are worth quoting. He writes: "In einer eigenthümlichen Lage befindet sich die Kritik manchen Zeugnissen gegenüber, die, einzig in ihrer Art, durch andere Quellen weder positiv noch negativ zu kontrollieren sind, weil aus derselben Zeit, bzw. über dieselben Thatssachen gar keine anderen Quellen erhalten sind, während wir obendrein wissen, dass die Zeugnisse nicht durchweg Zuverlässig sind; . . . und aus einer gewissen Schwäche des Gemüths sind wir geneigt, obwohl wir nicht recht trauen, dieselben gelten zu lassen, solange wir sie nicht kontrollieren können, weil wir gar keine Kenntnis über die betreffenden Thatssachen besitzen, falls wir sie aufgeben." In one respect, indeed, the case before us differs slightly from the one described by Bernheim, in that the documents which he characterizes are "not altogether trustworthy;" while in the writings of the Chronicler we have the work of an author who is well known to us as thoroughly untrustworthy, and, what is far more important, as one who composes history with a motive which is obviously furthered by this very narrative. That being the case, it is plain that no use whatever can be made of any part of the Ezra story as a source for the history of the Jews in the Persian period. The same is of course true of Neh. 7:1-69 and chaps. 11-13, with the solitary exception of the list of high-priests in 12:10 f., 22, where we are able partially to control the Chronicler's statements by the help of other sources.

The translation which here follows is based on an emended text, the reason for the emendation being given in each case.

Jews at the time when the foundation of the temple was laid. In the face of these conflicting statements, there was only one prudent course. It was doubtless from the same motive—caution—that the Chronicler chose the unusual term תִּרְשָׁתָא "Tirshatha." Just as soon as he gets back to firm ground, in Neh. 12:26, he writes "Nehemiah the governor" (הַפֶּהָרָא).

Our massoretic text is in the main excellent, standing probably very close to what the Chronicler himself wrote. The other texts (rendered by I Esdras, Theodotion, and Jerome) are inferior. I have omitted the lists of names and the long prayer in Neh. 9, as not essential to my present purpose, which is to print the narrative as it originally stood.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION^a

(Ezr. 8:1-36; Neh. 7:70-73a)

Ezr. 8¹ And these are the chief of the fathers,^b and their genealogy, those who went up with me from Babylonia^c in the reign of Artaxerxes the king. ²Of the sons of Phinehas, Gershom, . . . etc. (*Then follows, in vss. 2-14, the list, composed in the Chronicler's characteristic manner.*) ¹⁵I assembled them at the river which flows into the Ahava,^d and there we encamped for three days. And I took account of the people,^e and of the priests, but of the sons of Levi I found none there. ¹⁶So I sent Eliezer, Ariel, Shemaiah, Elnathan, Jarib,^f Nathan, Zachariah, and Meshullam, chief men; and Joiarib and Elnathan, men of discernment; ¹⁷directing them to Iddo, who was the chief in the place Casiphia. And I instructed them

^aFor a translation of the narrative immediately preceding, see above, XXIV, 279-81.

^bCf. Ezr. 1:5, and especially I Esdr. 5:4. See the texts and annotations given above, XXIV, 12-28.

^c"Babylonia," not "Babylon;" cf. my notes, above, on II Chron. 36:20, Ezr. 5:12, 6:1.

^dThe name is known only from this chapter, and the translation is accordingly uncertain.

^eThe Chronicler has no fixed order of mentioning these three classes: "people (or, 'Israel'), priests, Levites." The order found here occurs very frequently; thus I Chron. 9:2, 23:2, II Chron. 17:7 f. (contrast 19:8), 34:30, 35:8 f., Ezr. 1:5, I Esdr. 4:53 ff., Ezr. 2:2 ff., 6:16, 7:7, 13, 9:1, Neh. 8:13, 10:28, 11:3. See also above, p. 203, note.

^fThe "Elnathan" which follows this name in MT is due to the error of a copyist whose eye strayed to the same pair of names just one line below. Our text is otherwise correct. Cf. with this vs. II Chron. 17:7! The Chronicler's style is not like that of any one else.

what to say to Iddo my brother,^g and to the Nethinim in the place Casiphia, to bring us servants for the house of our God.¹⁸ And by the good hand of our God upon us they brought us a man of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, son of Levi, son of Israel; even^h Sherebiah, with his sons and his brethren, eighteen;¹⁹ Also Hashabiah andⁱ Jeshaiah, of the sons of Merari, with their brethrenⁱ and their children, twenty. ²⁰And of the Nethinim, whom David and the princes gave for the service of the Levites: two hundred and twenty Nethinim, all registered by name.

²¹And I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might humble ourselves before our God, to seek from him a prosperous journey, for ourselves, our little ones, and all our goods. ²²For I had been ashamed to ask of the king an armed and mounted guard, to protect us from enemies on the way; because we had said to the king: The hand of our God is upon all those who seek him, for good; but his power and his wrath are against all who forsake him. ²³So we fasted, and besought our God for this, and he accepted our prayer.

²⁴And I set apart twelve men of the chief priests, Sherebiah and Hashabiah and ten of their brethren.^k ²⁵And I weighed out for them the silver, and the gold, and the vessels; the offering for the house of our God which the king, and his counselors and princes, and all Israel there present had offered. ²⁶I weighed into their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and one hundred silver vessels worth talents;¹ one hundred talents of gold; ²⁷twenty bowls of gold worth a thousand

^gIt is obvious that אהיו הנתינים must be divided אהיו והנתינים.

^hThe occasional use of an "explicative *waw*" in both the Hebrew and the Aramaic of the Greek period is well attested. Cf. my notes, above, on I Esdr. 3:1, 6, Ezr. 6:8, 9; further, I Chron. 28:1, Neh. 8:13, 9:16, 10:29. Theodotion's Hebrew had here ורש באו בניו, instead of ושרביה ובניו.

ⁱReading אהיהם and ואת.

^kProbably something has fallen out after the numeral "twelve," either the single word ומתלנים or else a longer passage. We should expect twelve priests and twelve Levites, cf. vss. 30 and 33. The ל before "Sherebiah" was pretty certainly written by the Chronicler himself.

¹The numeral seems to have fallen out; it must have stood just after the word "talents."

darics;^m and twelve vessels of fine polished bronze,ⁿ precious as gold. ²⁸And I said to them:^o Ye are holy unto Yahwè, and the vessels are holy, and the silver and the gold are a freewill offering to Yahwè the God of your fathers. ²⁹Watch and keep them, until ye weigh them out before the chief priests and Levites and the chief of the fathers of Israel, in Jerusalem, in^p the chambers of the house of Yahwè. ³⁰So the priests and the Levites received the weight of the silver and the gold, and the vessels, to bring them to Jerusalem to the house of our God.

April 12 ³¹And we set out from the river Ahava on the twelfth^q day of the first month, to go to Jerusalem. And the hand of our God was upon us, and he delivered us from the power of the enemy and the lier-in-wait, on the way. ³²So we came to Jerusalem,

August 1 (See 7:8 f.) and there we abode for three days. ³³And on the fourth day the silver, the gold, and the vessels were weighed in the house of our God, under the direction of Meremoth the son of Uriah, the priest, with whom was Eleazar the son of Phinehas; and with them were Jozabad the son of Jeshua and Noadiah the son of Binnui, the Levites. ³⁴(They received) the whole by number and by weight,^r and all of the weight was written down at that time.

³⁵The children of the exile, those who had just come from the captivity, offered whole burnt offerings to the God of Israel: twelve bullocks for all Israel, ninety-six rams, seventy-seven lambs, and twelve he-goats for a sin offering; all this as a whole burnt offering to Yahwè. ³⁶And they delivered the orders of the king to his satraps and the governors of the province Beyond the River;^s

^m The word **אֲדָרְכֹן**, derived from *δρακός*, originated in the Greek period and was formed after the analogy of **דֶּרַחְמָן**, "drachma." The Chronicler uses it also in I Chron. 29:7.

ⁿ The numeral here was originally **שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר**, as I Esdr. 8:56 (*δέκα δύο*) shows. See also Josephus, *Antt.* xi, 136. **נִהְשֵׁת** is construct state, and **מִצִּדְקָב** (a noun, of course, with collective meaning) is probably correct.

^o Cf. I Chron. 15:12, II Chron. 29:5, 35:3-6. Very characteristic.

^p The text is slightly corrupt.

^q The Chronicler's favorite number, again, for this most important date.

^r The same peculiar construction, and the same words, in I Chron. 28:14 ff.

^s Concerning these officers, see above, XXIV, 246 f.

these accordingly aided the people and the house of God. **Neh. 7**⁷⁰ And some of the chief of the fathers made donations to the work. The Tirshatha^t gave into the treasury a thousand drachmas^u in gold, fifty basins, thirty priests' garments, and five hundred [minas of silver].^v ⁷¹ And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasury of the work^w twenty thousand drachmas of gold, and two thousand and two hundred minas of silver. ⁷² And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand drachmas of gold, two thousand minas of silver, and sixty-seven priests' garments.

^{73a} And the priests, the Levites, the porters, and the singers, some of the people, and the Nethinim, even all Israel, dwelt in their cities.^x

THE READING OF THE LAW

(Neh. 7:73b—8:18)

7^{73b} And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel being in their cities,^y **8**¹ all the people assembled as one man at the open place before the water gate;^z and they sent word to Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the Law of Moses, which Yahwè had commanded to Israel. ² So Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, on the first day of the seventh month. ³ And he read in it, over against the open place before the water gate, from early morning until midday, before the men and women and all who could understand; and the ears of all the

October 1

^t That is, the governor of Judea. The Chronicler employs the title in *Ezr.* 2:63, *Neh.* 7:65, 8:9, and (probably) 10:2; in these passages, also, as a non-committal designation, *the name not being given*. "Nehemiah" in 8:9 and 10:2 is an interpolation; see the notes on the two passages.

^u Observe the Greek word.

^v It is probable, as many have observed, that the words **קָסָה מִיָּדָיו** originally stood between **וְ** and **הַמֶּלֶךְ**.

^w With this whole passage cf. *I Chron.* 29:6 ff. (obviously the work of the same hand!), *II Chron.* 29:31 ff., 35:7 ff.

^x Cf. *I Chron.* 9:2 and *Ezr.* 2:1 (end)! Our text of the verse is probably just what the Chronicler wrote.

^y Compare *I Chron.* 13:2, which is an instructive parallel.

^z See above, pp. 199, 213; and compare also *II Chron.* 5:3, 29:4.

people were attentive to the book of the law. ⁴And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood^a which had been made for the purpose; and there stood beside him Mattathiah, Shema, Anaiah, Uriah, Hilkiyah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and at his left hand Pedaiah, Mishael, Malchijah, Hashum, Hashbaddanah, and Zechariah.^b ⁵And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people (for he was above the people), and as he opened it they all stood up. ⁶Then Ezra blessed Yahwè, the great God; and all the people answered, Amen, amen, lifting up their hands, and they bowed down and worshiped Yahwè with their faces to the ground. ⁷Moreover Jeshua, Bani, Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, and Pelaiah, the Levites,^c instructed the people in the law, while all remained in their places. ⁸And they read in the book of the law distinctly,^d and gave the sense, so that the reading was understood.

⁹And the Tirshatha,^e and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites who taught the people, said to all the people: This day is holy unto Yahwè your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law. ¹⁰They^f also said to them: Go, eat the fat and drink the sweet, and send portions to him that hath no provision; for this day is holy unto our Lord. And be ye not distressed; for the joy of Yahwè is your

^a Cf. the brazen pulpit used by Solomon on a similar occasion, II Chron. 6:13 (not in Kings). Just as Neh. 7:70-72 is repeated from I Chron. 29:6-8, so the whole scene in Neh. 8 is, in its main features, a repetition of the one pictured in II Chron., chaps. 5-7. See my *Composition*, p. 59.

^b Neither Greek version gives "Meshullam," and it obviously originated in a marginal variant of מְשֻׁלָּם or מְשָׁאֵל. These *twelve* names are intended as those of laymen; cf. 10:15-28, and Ezr. 10:25-43.

^c Omit 1. The number of these names was probably *twelve* originally, but there is no good ground for emending the text. In Theodotion's original, the resemblance of מְשָׁאֵל (מב) to יִמְיִן had caused the accidental omission of eleven words.

^d The usage elsewhere, and the evident intent of the grammatical connection here, combine to render this meaning certain.

^e The words נְהִמְיָה הוּא are a later addition, as the old Greek version shows. See the note on 7:70. Theodotion's original had simply *substituted* the name "Nehemiah," both here and in 10:2.

^f Third pers. sing. for indefinite subject, as very often elsewhere. So also vs. 18.

strength. ¹¹And the Levites quieted all the people, saying: Be still, for the day is holy; neither be ye distressed. ¹²So all the people went away, to eat and drink, and to send portions, and to make great rejoicing, for they gave heed to the things which had been told them.

¹³Then were assembled |^g on the following day the chief of the fathers of all the people, the priests, and the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even that they might give attention to the words of the law. ¹⁴And they found written in the law, that Yahwè had given command, through Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths during the festival of the seventh month; ¹⁵and that they should proclaim^h and publish in all their cities and in Jerusalem, saying: Go forth to the mountain, and bring olive branches, and branches of wild olive, also of the myrtle, and the palm, and other leafy trees, in order to make booths according to the prescription. ¹⁶So the people went forth, and brought them; and they made for themselves booths, upon their own roofs, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God; also in the open places before the water gate and the gate of Ephraim. ¹⁷And all the congregation, those who had returned from the captivity,ⁱ made booths and dwelt in them; for the children of Israel had not done thus from the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day.^k And there was very great rejoicing. ¹⁸And they read in the book

^gHere ends the fragment originally plucked from the middle of the old Greek translation, and known to us as "First Esdras." See XXIII, 141.

^hA good example of the Chronicler's careless way of narrating (cf. above, XXIV, 229). What here follows is, of course, *not* what they found in the law, but what Ezra said to those who had come to him. (It is possible, to be sure, that the original text had **וַיִּצְוֶה אֱשֶׁר** in place of **וַיִּאמֶר**.)

ⁱCf. Ezr. 6:21, 8:35.

^kMeaning, of course, that the festival had not before been observed so universally and completely, since the time of Joshua. The statement is merely a parallel to the one found in II Chron. 35:18. The Chronicler had several times, in the earlier history, mentioned the celebration of this festival, and with emphasis. See not only Ezr. 3:4, but especially II Chron. 7:8 ff., 8:13, in both of which passages he has deliberately altered the text of Kings. He could not possibly have put into his book, here in the Ezra story, a flat contradiction of the statement which he had previously made with so evidently studied purpose.

of the law of God day by day, from the first day unto the last.
 October 22 So they observed the feast seven days, and on the eighth day was a festal assembly, according to the ordinance.

THE EXPULSION OF THE GENTILE WIVES

(Ezr. 9:1—10:44)

Ezr. 9 ¹Now when these things were finished, the chief men
 November (?) drew near to me, saying: The people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the peoples of the land, with¹ all their abominations, namely the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Amorites. ²For they have taken of their daughters, for themselves and for their sons, and thus the holy race hath been mixed^m with the peoples of the land. Moreover, the hand of the chief men and the rulers hath been foremost in this trespass. ³When I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my cloak, and plucked out some of the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat as though stunned. ⁴Then were assembled unto me all those that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the trespass of the men of the exile; but I continued sitting as though stunned, until the evening offering. ⁵And at the time of the evening offering I arose from my humiliation, even with my garment and my cloak rent; and I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto Yahwè my God.ⁿ ⁶And I said: O my God, I am confounded and ashamed to lift up^o my face unto thee; for our sins have multiplied exceedingly,^p and our guilt hath mounted high as the heavens. ⁷Since the days of our fathers we have been exceeding guilty, unto

¹I believe that the reading of our text (with כ) is correct. This is probably one of the Chronicler's ellipses.

^mCf. Ps. 106:35, and especially Neh. 9:2, 13:3. (In the last-named passage Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 130, would emend to "Arabs"!)

ⁿCf. II Chron. 6:13. This part of the Ezra story is written in the Chronicler's liveliest style—not, however, a whit more lively than 10:1–14, where the story is told of Ezra in the third person. See above, pp. 199, 212. The prayer which follows is also thoroughly characteristic.

^oWith the peculiar interjection of אלהי at this point, cf. the similar case in I Chron. 29:17.

^pThe impossible ראש is merely dittography of the following ראש.

this day; and for our sins, we, our kings, and our priests, have been given into the power of the kings of the lands, for slaughter, for captivity, for plundering, and for humiliation, as at this day. ⁸But now for a moment grace hath been given from Yahwè our God, to save for us a remnant, and to give us a secure fastening in his holy place; that our God may restore the light to our eyes, and grant us a little reviving in our bondage. ⁹For bondservants we are;^a yet in our bondage our God hath not forsaken us, but hath extended to us favor in the sight of the kings of Persia, to grant us a reviving, to raise up the house of our God, and to repair its ruins, and to give us a wall of protection^r in Judea and Jerusalem. ¹⁰Now therefore, O our God, what shall we say after this? for we have forsaken thy commandments, ¹¹which thou didst command by thy servants the prophets, saying:^s The land which ye are entering, to possess it, is a land foul with the filth of the heathen peoples, with their abominations, since they have filled it from end to end with their uncleanness. ¹²Now therefore give not your daughters to their sons, nor take for your sons their daughters, nor seek their peace or their welfare, for ever;^t that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and make it the perpetual inheritance of your children.^u ¹³And after all that hath come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great guilt,—and yet thou, O our God, hast spared us, punishing^v less than our sins deserve, and hast given us such a remnant as this,—¹⁴shall we again break thy commandments, and intermarry with the people of these abominations? Wouldest thou not be angry with us to the point of cutting us off without residue or remnant? ¹⁵O Yahwè, God of Israel, thou dealest righteously, that we are left a remnant

^aCf. especially Neh. 9:36.

^rThis is of course figurative!

^sThe manner of the following quotation, given as from "the Prophets" (by which word he means primarily *Moses*) and not truly representing any single passage, is exactly what we have already noticed in II Chron. 36:21 (see the note, XXIV, 12). The Chronicler quotes as he writes—carelessly and irresponsibly.

^tAll this is a most instructive example of misquotation!

^uCf. I Chron. 28:8 (not in Sam.-Kings).

^vThe Hebrew contains one of the Chronicler's ellipses.

as at this day; behold we are before thee in our guilt, for none can stand before thee because of this.

10¹ Now while Ezra^w prayed and made confession, weeping and prostrating himself before the house of God, there were assembled unto him a very great congregation of the people of Israel, men, women, and children; moreover the people wept exceedingly. ²Then Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, of the sons of Elam, said to Ezra: We have trespassed against our God, and have married foreign women of the peoples of the land; yet even now there is hope for Israel, in spite of this. ³Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God, to put away all such wives,^x and the children born of them, according to the counsel of my lord and of those who tremble at the commandment of our God;^y and let obedience be given to the law.^z ⁴Arise, for the matter resteth upon thee, and we are with thee; stand firm, and do it. ⁵So Ezra arose, and made the chief men of the priests, of the Levites, and of all Israel, swear that they would do according to this word. So they took oath.

⁶Then Ezra withdrew from before the house of God, and went to the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib,^a and there he passed the night;^b he ate no bread, nor drank water, for he was mourning because of the trespass of the men of the exile. ⁷And they made proclamation throughout Judea and Jerusalem, to all those of the exile, that they should assemble at Jerusalem; ⁸and

^wThe reason for the use of the third person in this chapter is simply this, that when the Chronicler sat down to write it he did not happen to identify himself, in imagination, with his hero. On the next occasion, in another mood, he might write in the first person: he was under no obligation to write always in the same way. See the remarks above, pp. 210 f.

^xThe qualifying "such" is of course understood from the context. The article is omitted just as in 1:11 (see my note, XXIV, 17) and in vs. 17 of this chapter.

^yThat is: after my lord (Ezra) shall have consulted with the more devout of the leaders of Israel. See vs. 5.

^zNamely, the law *which had just been read*, and *from which the "chief men"* (cf. 9:1 with Neh. 8:13) *had learned of the prohibition of foreign marriages*. See the introductory remarks, above.

^aSee the introductory remarks at the beginning of this chapter.

^bReading וַיָּלֶן instead of וַיֵּלֶךְ.

that whoever did not come within three specified^c days, according to the counsel of the chief men and the elders, all his property should be forfeited, and he himself separated from the congregation of the exile.

⁹Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin assembled at Jerusalem within the three days; it was^d the ninth month, on the twentieth day of the month. And all the people sat in the open place before the house of God, trembling because of this matter, and because of the storms of rain. ¹⁰Then Ezra the priest arose, and said to them: Ye have trespassed, and have married foreign women, adding this to the guilt of Israel. ¹¹Now therefore make confession to Yahwè, the God of your fathers, and do his will; and separate yourselves from the peoples of the land, and from the foreign wives. ¹²Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice: Thus, according to thy word, it is our duty to do. ¹³But the people are many, and this is a time of heavy rains, so that we cannot remain out of doors. Moreover it is not a work of one day, nor of two; for very many of us have sinned in this manner. ¹⁴Let our chief men (that is, of all the congregation)^e be stationed here, and let all those in our cities who have taken foreign wives come to them at stated times, and with them the elders and judges^f of their several cities; to the end that we may turn back from us the wrath of our God because of^g this thing. (¹⁵Nevertheless Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahzeiah the son of Tikwah stood against this counsel, and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite seconded them.)^h ¹⁶And the people of the

December 20

^c If the definite article is original here (הַיָּמִים), this must be its meaning. That is, three days were appointed during which the men were to present themselves at Jerusalem for registration.

^d Nothing is missing here! Cf. 7:8 and 6:15, and see my note (XXIV, p. 269) on the latter passage. This is a common and thoroughly Semitic construction.

^e Cf. Neh. 9:32, II Chron. 23:4, 28:15, etc. The ל explaining the suffix, as so often in Arabic.

^f Cf. II Chron. 15:3, 19:5, Ezra 7:10, 25 f.; and see above, p. 203.

^g Read עַל הַדָּבָר, with Jerome, Theodotion (cf. vs. 9), and, almost certainly, the old Greek version (the περὶ of the L text, I Esdr. 9:13, is presumably derived from Theodotion, however).

^h The Chronicler's imagination delighted in creating such incidents, as I have already shown with abundant illustration. Cf. also II Chron. 30:10 f., 18, I Chron. 21:6, Neh. 7:61-65, as well as such passages as II Chron. 28:12, etc.

exile did so. Ezra the priest and¹ certain chief men according to their families, all designated by name, were set apart; and they
 January 1 were in session on the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter. ¹⁷And they finished with all the men^k who had mar-
 April 1 ried foreign women by the first day of the first month.

¹⁸And there were found among the sons of the priests, who had married foreign women: of the sons of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren;¹ Maaseiah, Eliezer, Jarib, and Gedaliah. ¹⁹They gave their pledge that they would put away their wives; and for their trespass they were fined^m a ram of the flock. ²⁰And of the sons of Immer; Hanani and Zebediah. (*Then follows, in vss. 21-43, the remainder of the list.*) ²¹All these had taken foreign wives; and they sent them back (to their people), both wives and children.ⁿ

THE COVENANT AGAINST GENTILE MARRIAGES AND IN SUPPORT OF THE CLERGY

(Neh. 9:1-10:40)

April 24 **Neh. 9** ¹Now on the twenty-fourth^o day of this month the children of Israel assembled, fasting, and in sackcloth, and with earth upon their heads. ²And the seed of Israel separated them-

ⁱRead **וַיִּבְדְּלוּ**, with Theodotion and Jerome. The old Greek (= **וַיִּבְדְּלוּ לוֹ**) also gives sure evidence that the original verb was **וַיִּבְדְּלוּ**, for **לוֹ** is impossible here. This latter blunder ultimately produced the text of which the translation (presumably by Aquila or Symmachus) has in this verse supplanted the rendering of Theodotion in the bizarre L recension.

^kRead **בְּכָל אֲנָשִׁים**. The Chronicler omits the article here exactly as he does in vs. 3 and in 1:1; see the notes on these passages.

¹See Note A, at the end of the chapter.

^m**אָשָׁם**, like the Syriac **ܐܫܡܐ**, may take a direct object. On the elliptical clause (very characteristic) see XXIV, 270, note k.

ⁿThe original was **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְנֵי נָשִׁים וּבְנֵי גֵוִיִּם**. By an easy accident, the two letters **בִּי** were dropped from the first word. The resulting **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ**, which was absolutely impossible, naturally produced the variant, **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ מִתָּהֶם**. In our MT *both* of these readings are ingeniously used; the latter at the beginning of the clause, and the former, **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ**, inserted before **וּבְנֵי גֵוִיִּם**. (For a similar case of ingenuity in combining two variant *Greek* readings, see the L text of Neh. 13:20.) The old Greek version, I Esdr. 9:36, renders the Hebrew which I have conjectured. See further, on the restoration of this verse, Note A, at the end of this chapter.

^oObserve the multiple of *twelve*; see the note on Ezr. 8:31, and also p. 213.

selves from all foreigners;^p and they took their places, and confessed their sins and the iniquities of their fathers. ³And they stood up in their places, and read in the book of the law of Yahwè their God for a fourth part of the day; and for another fourth part they made confession, and worshiped Yahwè their God. ⁴Then Jeshua and the sons^q of Kadmiel, (namely) Shechaniah,^q Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, and Chenani, stood upon the elevated place of the Levites and cried with a loud voice unto Yahwè their God. ⁵Also the Levites, Hashabneiah,^q Sherebiah, Hodiah, Shebaniah, and Pethahiah, said: Come,^r bless Yahwè your God. [And Ezra said: Blessed art thou, Yahwè our God,^s] from everlasting to everlasting; and blessed be thy name, glorious and^t exalted above all blessing and praise. ⁶Thou, Yahwè, art (God) alone. Thou hast made the heavens, the heaven^u of heavens, and all their host; the earth, and all creatures that are upon it; the seas, and all things that are in them. Thou givest life to them all, and to thee the host of heaven boweth down. (*Then follows, in vss. 7-37, the remainder of the prayer, the last words of which are these:*) ³⁶Behold, we are vassals today; and as for the land which thou gavest to our fathers, to eat its fruit and its good things, we are bondmen upon it. ³⁷It^v bringeth forth its

^pIt is obvious that this is the immediate sequel of Ezr. 9:1—10:44. Cf. with this clause especially Ezr. 9:1 and 10:11; and see, further, the introductory remarks.

^qOn the text of this verse and the following, see Note B, at the end of the chapter.

^rIt is possible that קוּמִי is to be taken here in its literal meaning "stand up;" but more probably it means simply "up! come!" as in II Chron. 6:41, Ezr. 10:4, and many other passages; i. e., it is used here just as נִשְׁתָּא is used in the parallel I Chron. 29:20.

^sConcerning the lacuna here, see Note C, at the end of the chapter.

^tThe conjunction, to which some have objected, is quite in place. The construction which is *virtually* adjectival is continued by one which is *really* such.

^uThose who would emend here (and in many similar places) by inserting the conjunction ו, should bear in mind that the Chronicler is fond of enumerating in the Aramaic way, omitting the conjunction in every place but the last.

^vWith the Chronicler's characteristic omission of the subject; cf. the note on Ezr. 10:19.

abundant produce for the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins; they have power also over our persons and our cattle, at their pleasure. Yea, we are in great distress.^w

10 ¹In consequence of all this^x we made an abiding covenant, in writing, and to sign it^y stood our princes, our Levites, and our priests; ²and at the head of the signers^z were the Tirshatha^z and Zedekiah.^z ³Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah; ⁴Pashhur, . . . etc. (*Then follows, in vss. 4-28, the remainder of the list.*)^a ²⁹And the rest of the people, and of^b the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, and the Nethinim, even all those who had separated themselves from the peoples of the land unto the law of God, with their wives and their sons and daughters, all who had knowledge and understanding,^c ³⁰stood fast by their brethren, their leaders, and entered into a curse and an oath, to walk in the law of God, which was given through Moses the servant of God, and to keep and perform all the commandments of Yahwè our Lord, and his ordinances and his statutes: ³¹to wit,

^wThe closing part of this prayer is strikingly similar to the close of the prayer in Ezr. 9. Vss. 33-37 here are the expanded counterpart of vss. 9, 13, and 15 there. The prayer in Neh. includes also supplication for mercy (vs. 32). Neh. 10:1 (9:38 in the English version) is *not* a part of the prayer, but the resumption of the narrative. It is not strange that some scholars should have thought the transition here "abrupt;" it is smoothness itself, however, compared to this same writer's transitions in I Chron. 28:19 (!), Ezr. 2:68, 7:27 (!), Neh. 12:27; to say nothing of the many places where he leaps from the first person to the third, or *vice versa*, without apparent occasion.

^xI. e., all the events narrated in the preceding chapter and in Ezr. 9f. This covenant gave the finishing touch to *Ezra's reform*. The words רבכל נסו give a very natural continuation.

^yEvidently the technical term.

^zOn the text and interpretation of this verse and the preceding, see Note D, at the end of the chapter.

^aOn the *number* of the names, one of the Chronicler's multiples of twelve, see Note D, at the end of the chapter.

^bThe construction so often found in the Chronicler's writings; see Ezr. 8:29, 10:5, etc.

^cThis verse, which betrays the Chronicler's authorship with almost every phrase, fairly represents the whole chapter. From this point on to the end, we can recognize everywhere his peculiar style and diction, and his own special hobbies. Those who know his writings intimately will see this at once, for it is beyond all question; those who are not thus prepared will do well to read II Chron. 31:4-19 first of all.

that we would not give our daughters to the peoples of the land, nor take their daughters for our sons; ³²and that whenever the peoples of the land should bring their merchandise or any sort of grain on the sabbath day to sell, that we would not take it from them, on the sabbath or on a holy day; and that we would forego the product^d of the seventh year and the exaction of every debt. ³³Moreover we imposed upon ourselves stated contributions,^e charging ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel, for the service of the house of our God; ³⁴for the showbread, the continual meal offering, and the continual burnt offering, as well as the offerings of the sabbaths and the new moons; for the feasts, the holy sacrifices,^f and the sin offerings to make atonement for Israel; even for all the work of the house of our God. ³⁵Also we cast lots, the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood offering, to bring it into the house of our God, according to our fathers' houses, at appointed times year by year, to burn on the altar of Yahwè our God, as is prescribed in the law;^g ³⁶and (we covenanted) to bring the first fruits of our land, and the first of every sort of fruit of any tree, year by year, to the house of Yahwè; ³⁷also the firstborn of our sons and of our cattle, as is prescribed in the law; and that we would bring the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks to the house of our God, for the priests who minister in the house of our God; ³⁸and that the best of our coarse meal, and of our heaps of grain(?),^h and of the fruit of every tree, the

^dIt is obvious that the word **קְבִיצָה** has been accidentally omitted, by haplography, after **אֵת**; see Ex. 23:10 f. and Lev. 25:3-7, the passages which the Chronicler had in mind. The law of the debtor's release, to which he refers, is of course Deut. 15:1-3.

^eSo also in 13:5, and in the post-Biblical usage.

^fNamely those described in II Chron. 29:33 and 35:13.

^gThis is a very good example of the Chronicler's heedless and irresponsible mode of citation, giving merely what he happened to remember, or thought he remembered. See above, the notes on II Chron. 36:21 (XXIV, 12) and Ezr. 9:11. Neh. 8:14 is another most instructive instance.

On the text of this verse Bertholet, *Comm.*, says: "L. nach LXX **וְלִפְנֵי הַלֵּוִיִּם** und st. **לְבֵית אֲבוֹתֵינוּ**."! This is curious textual criticism.

^hRead **וְעֵרְמִיתֵינוּ** in place of **וְתַרְמִיתֵינוּ**? The accidental substitution of the latter word would then be very natural in view of Num. 15:20 f., etc. In the text which lay before Theodotion the word had been canceled as corrupt. The supposition of a gloss has not much likelihood.

wine and the oil, we would bring for the priests, to the chambers of the house of our God; also the tithes of our land for the Levites;—and they, the Levites, were to reckon the tithes in all the cities of our tillage, ³⁹and theⁱ priest the son of Aaron was to be with the Levites when they reckoned the tithes; and the Levites were to bring up the tenth of the tithes to the house of our God, to the chambers belonging to the treasury; ⁴⁰for unto the chambers were the children of Israel and the sons of Levi to bring^k the offering of corn, and wine, and oil, and there also were the utensils of the sanctuary, and of^l the priests who minister, and of the porters and the singers;^m—and that we would not forsake the house of our God.ⁿ

NOTE A (on Ezr. 10:44)

There can be no doubt whatever that the original intent of this verse is expressed in I Esdr. 9:36, according to which I have restored the Hebrew text. The plan proposed, in Ezr. 10:3, 5, was to put away both the wives and the children. A complete census, town by town, was to be taken; every Israelite who failed to appear before the authorities was to be expelled from the congregation (vs. 8). The people agreed (vs. 12), and also acted according to the agreement (vs. 16). “By the first day of the

ⁱAre we to regard the use of the article here as evidence that this was the custom followed in the Chronicler's own day?

^kThe contradiction which many recent commentators have found in vss. 38-40 vanishes when they are understood as here indicated. It is not even necessary to appeal to II Chron. 31:5-7. This whole passage, however, is very characteristic of the Chronicler's loose-jointed way of thinking and writing.

^lThe usual construction; see the note on vs. 29.

^mThe status of these Levitical classes is the very same in all parts of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.—the writer being generally at no pains to express himself exactly. See my *Composition*, pp. 22f.; also above, p. 202, note 40—and Bertholet's *Comm.*, on Neh. 11:17 f.!

ⁿThe verb (יָעֲזֹב) in this last clause concludes the construction begun by יָתֵן in vs. 31, and continued by נָקַח and נָשַׂח in vs. 32, and נָבִיא in vs. 38. The Chronicler intended this whole passage, vss. 31-40, to give the substance of his “abiding covenant” (אֲמִנָה, vs. 1), and he ends it with a clause which both sums up the preceding details and also forms a highly suitable close to the whole Ezra story. Notice that he ends his expanded story of Nehemiah in a very similar manner (13:31!).

first month" *all* of those who had married foreign women had appeared before the judges (vs. 17). The members of the leading priestly house are first mentioned, and it is said of them that *they* agreed to put away their wives of foreign birth (vs. 19). Then follows, without any other introduction, the remainder of the list. At its close must therefore have stood, in some form, the statement that *these all* put away their wives (and presumably the children also would be mentioned); no other continuation is possible. Furthermore, the immediate sequel in Neh. 9 f. asserts again that they did separate themselves completely, not only from the heathen wives and their children (10:29-31), but also from all the other foreigners (9:2, cf. especially Ezr. 9:1, 10:11). And yet our commentators and historians all wonder whether Ezra's reform was pictured as successful!

The Chronicler does, indeed, represent this evil of mixed marriages as present once more (in a few cases) in the time of Nehemiah, a dozen years later. The fact that he does so shows his own great interest in the subject, and that he realized the impossibility of preventing such alliances entirely; it also, no doubt, may be taken as an indication that the Jews in his day were *not* as exclusive as he wished to see them.

NOTE B (on Neh. 9:4 f.)

It is generally agreed that the lists of Levites given in verses 4 and 5 have been corrupted through copyists' errors. The chief reason for the corruption is, obviously, the fact that the one list follows the other so immediately, while each is introduced by the word הַלְוִיִּם. The presence of *three* names written בְּנֵי in vs. 4 is more than suspicious, and without much doubt the first of the three was originally יִבְנִי or יִבְנִי. It was the influence of the similar list in the preceding chapter (8:7) which caused the reading of the name "Bani" here, very naturally. Theodotion rendered: Ἰησοῦς καὶ υἱοὶ Καδμηλ, Σαχανία¹⁶ υἱὸς Σαραβία,¹⁷ υἱοὶ

¹⁶ The Hexaplar MSS., S and B, have here the blunder Σαραβία. The coincidence of the A text with that of L (Σαχενίας) proves that Theodotion read שַׁחְנִיָּה. In the names immediately following, L has been conformed to MT, as usual.

¹⁷ The very inferior character of the Hexaplar text is always apparent, from the beginning of I Chronicles to the end of Nehemiah; and the most corrupt form of it, in nine cases out of ten, is that given by Codex B.

Xavan, but this is plainly the rendering of a text which is inferior to MT. For the "sons of Kadmiel," cf. Ezr. 2:40 and Neh. 7:43 (the text of the former passage probably correct, that of the latter certainly corrupt).¹⁸ The possibility must not be overlooked that the original reading was "*Jeshua the son of Kadmiel*;" see Neh. 12:24.

The fact that "Shebaniah" appears also in vs. 5 makes it extremely probable that Theodotion is right with his "Shechaniah" in vs. 4; see above.

The first three names in vs. 5 came from vs. 4 (or a variant of it). The accident in copying was due to proximity *plus* the fact that the word הַלְוִיִּם immediately precedes. The name "Hashabneiah" is very likely a copyist's error for "Hashabiah," the man referred to in 12:24 as a "*chief of the Levites*."

The whole number of the Levite assistants on this occasion was eleven. The six named in vs. 4 began the ceremony with an invocation; then the five named in vs. 5 called upon the people to unite in prayer. The prayer was offered by Ezra, who thus joined himself, in a way, to the Levites of vs. 5, making the number of those conducting the ceremony to be *twelve* in all. Cf. especially 12:36, where the Chronicler makes his Ezra join a company of the Levite "singers."

NOTE C (the lacuna in Neh. 9:5)

It has been quite generally recognized that something has been lost from our Hebrew text here, at the point where the long prayer begins. Theodotion's Greek prefixes *καὶ εἶπεν* "Eḗpas to the first words of vs. 6; and it is indeed obvious that some one man (and presumably Ezra) must have been named as the speaker of the following words, which occupy more than thirty verses. But it is even plainer that whatever lacuna there is must be sought further back than the end of vs. 5. The words יְהוָה גָּדֹל, "*thy glorious name*," in the last clause of this verse, originally formed, beyond question, a part of the same address to Yahwē which is continued in vs. 6. The immediately preceding verb,

¹⁸ Guthe, in the *Polychrome Bible*, gives us a most astonishing "emendation" of Ezr. 2:40 based on one of the blunders of the Greek text in Codex B (in I Esdr. 5:26), where some careless copyist had converted the tachygram of *καὶ* (ξ) into α. With this help, Guthe restores the preposition εἰς, which is made to govern the genitive case.

וַיְבָרֶכֶּה, “*and let thy glorious name be blessed*” (literally, “*and let them bless;*” the common Aramaic use of the indefinite third person plural in place of the passive), shows the same thing. Moreover, the four words preceding this, מִן הָעוֹלָם עַד הָעוֹלָם, are now in a strange context; how could *these people* be exhorted to “stand up and bless Yahwè *from everlasting to everlasting*”? They were not immortal, and had not been eternal. Apparently, no one has ever studied this verse carefully, for the explanation of the difficulty is clear almost at the first glance. The Chronicler is drawing a large part of his devotional material from the Psalms, as usual. This particular form of words, מִן הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם, is found elsewhere only in the doxology appended to Psalms 41 and 106, and *quoted from the latter Psalm by the Chronicler in I Chron. 16:36*. The 106th Psalm is not only the Chronicler’s favorite (see especially I Chron. 16:34–36, 41, II Chron. 5:13, 7:3, 20:21, Ezr. 3:11), but it is also one from which he is quoting in this very prayer; see especially vss. 27 f., where it is obvious that we have, in the main, a free reproduction of Ps. 106:41–45 (with some very characteristic changes, such as רַבּוֹת עֲתִים instead of פַּעַמִּים רַבּוֹת). The theme on which the Psalm is built is precisely the one which the Chronicler is developing here; and it is therefore most fitting that its doxology should be used by him as the introduction of the prayer. When in addition to these facts it is observed how in another favorite Psalm this doxology, slightly varied (Ps. 72:18), is continued in the words (vs. 19): “*and blessed be his glorious name (שֵׁם כְּבוֹדוֹ) for ever,*” there can no longer be any question as to the position of the lacuna and the reason for the accidental omission. The original text is to be restored as follows: וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַלְוִים . . . קִבְּרוּ, בֵּרְכוּ אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. [וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲזָרָה. יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ,] מִן הָעוֹלָם אֱלֹהֵינוּ. [וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲזָרָה: בֵּרְכוּ אֶתְּהָ. יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ,] מִן הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם; וַיְבָרֶכֶּה וְגו’. The cause of the accident was the usual one: the very close resemblance of the omitted words to those immediately preceding them. In the Hebrew text which lay before Theodotion the words וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲזָרָה had been restored (in the wrong place, necessarily) simply because it was well known that they had once stood at the beginning of the prayer; there is no other satisfactory way of explaining

their presence.¹⁹ It is barely possible that the τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν of the Greek is the veritable translation of אֱלֹהֵינוּ (in which case we should have either to regard the אֱלֹהֵיכֶם of our MT as the result of correction or corruption, or else to suppose that a similar accidental omission took place in the Greek version); but in view of the thousands of cases of confusion of ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν by Greek scribes it is much more likely that we have to do with a mere copyist's error. As for the original extent of the passage omitted from the Hebrew, it is not probable that it contained anything more than the words here restored.

There is one other very striking parallel to be noticed. In I Chron., chaps. 28 f. (not in Sam.-Kings), the Chronicler depicts a scene somewhat resembling the one which he has constructed here in his story of Ezra. All the people are assembled at Jerusalem, and David the king offers prayer before them. He calls upon them to "bless Yahwè," using the very words which are uttered by the Levites in Neh. 9:5; though in I Chron. 29:20 the command בִּרְכוּ נָא אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם follows the prayer instead of preceding it. The prayer itself begins with the words (29:10): וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד: בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם אָבְדִינוּ; and then continues in much the same way as Neh. 9:6. The Chronicler loves to repeat the incidents, and the set phrases, which he has already used.

NOTE D (on Neh. 10:1 f.)

It is not strange that the use of the participle in 10:1 (כְּתִיבִים, כְּרִיתִים) should have misled some translators, ancient and modern, into connecting the verse with the preceding prayer; all the more because the first person plural has just been used there, while in the introductory narrative, 9:1-5, the first person was *not* used. But it is certain that the verse is narrative; this would be sufficiently evident, indeed, even if it were not directly continued in vss. 29 f. by the same narrating participle (מַחֲזִיקִים, בָּאִים) and by the first person plural ("our Lord;" "we would not give *our* daughters," etc.). This whole

¹⁹ It was a somewhat similar case when the three chapters, Neh. 8-10, were transposed again to the book of Ezra, in the recension represented by our I Esdras, and attached in the wrong place (necessarily). The thing was done simply because it was well known that they had once formed a part of the Ezra story.

passage affords one of the very best illustrations of the Chronicler's intolerably heedless way of carrying on a story; the best single parallels are perhaps I Chron. 28:19, Ezr. 7:27, and (carelessness of another sort) Neh. 13:1, 6.

In vs. 2, it is obvious that **הַהוֹתְמִים** is impossible, and equally obvious (see, for example, the English versions!) that the plural number refers to the signers who are named in the following verses.²⁰ The original reading must have been **הַהוֹתְמִים**, active participle, "those who sealed" the document. It may well be that Theodotion, who renders by *ἐπὶ τῶν σφραγιζόντων*, actually had this reading before him; we should have expected him otherwise to render by *ἐσφραγισμένων*, cf. the variant introduced into the text of Codex **S** by the corrector of the seventh century.²¹ Our massoretic reading, **עַל הַהוֹתְמִים**, is the result of a *lapsus calami* caused by the **עַל הַהוֹתְמִים** in the line above.

The name "Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah" is an interpolation; see the notes, above, on 7:70 and 8:9. The text as originally written by the Chronicler contained here only **הַתִּרְשָׁתָּה**, "the Tirshatha." The interpolation is the same one which has been made in several other places, as one of the inevitable results of the transplanting of the three chapters of the Ezra story into the book of Nehemiah. In our Hebrew text, it has taken place also in 8:9, and in both cases the interpolated name "Nehemiah" stands side by side with the original "Tirshatha." In the Hebrew text rendered by Theodotion, the process had gone so far that the unfamiliar word "Tirshatha" had been dropped altogether.²² In a few Greek manuscripts, moreover—notably in Codex B—the same thing has taken place even in 7:70(!), "Nehemiah" being simply substituted for "Tirshatha." In the old Greek version, on the contrary, the original reading, containing the title but not the name, is preserved in 8:9 (I Esdr. 9:49); and if we possessed the rest of this version we should doubtless find the same thing true in 10:2. Yet even earlier than the date of

²⁰ The desperate expedient of making the plural refer to a plural number of documents, or to the things (!) contained in the document, gives no help.

²¹ See *Studies in Mem. of W. R. Harper*, II, 92, note 38.

²² The *ὁ καὶ Αθαασθας* of the L text in Neh. 10:2(1) is, of course, merely one of the Lucianic corrections from the massoretic Hebrew.

this translation, probably soon after the transposition of the chapters, the interpolation of the name "Nehemiah" began; a fact which receives very interesting illustration in the presence of Νεεμίας in I Esdr. 5:40(!).²³

The "Zedekiah" of this verse is a character created simply in order to provide a companion for the anonymous "Tirshatha." The Chronicler did not know who the governor of Judea was during the first part of the reign of this Artaxerxes, and did not venture to give him a name; but it would not do *to appear not to know* who he was, hence the name of his associate, זְדַקְיָה, "at the head of" the list of signers. It may have been the case that he thought of the governor as a Persian, and wished to put beside him a representative of the people; but it seems more likely, on the contrary, that the official who had contributed so magnificently to the treasury of the temple (7:70), and then shortly after had helped Ezra instruct the people in the religion of Israel (8:9), and who now pledged himself to follow the law of Moses, to keep his family free from intermarriage with foreigners (10:31), and to show himself in all things a faithful member of "the congregation," was thought of as a Jew. Whether the Chronicler intended his "Zedekiah" to be a prince, or a private secretary, is a question of very slight importance, and one which it will never be possible to answer. The reason why Ezra's name does not appear among the signers is of course this, that he was regarded as above the necessity of taking this oath, which had in it something of the nature of a confession of evil-doing (see 9:1 f., 10:29 f., and בָּנִי זָמַת in 10:1). The man who had come all the way from Babylonia in order to call the Jews to account for their neglect of the Pentateuch (Ezr. 7:14!), and under whose vehement rebuke they were now making this solemn promise to return to the right path, certainly had no need to sign the document.

The *number of the names* of the signers (הַיּוֹדְעִים) calls for especial notice. This written covenant, according to the repre-

²³ The tendency to interpolate the name of the unnamed official, especially when he was believed to have been so important a person as Nehemiah or Zerubbabel, was of course very strong at all times. We see several instances of exactly this sort—interesting parallels to those just described—in I Esdr. 6:17, 26, 28, in all three of which verses the name Ζωροβَابηλ has been interpolated for the purpose of identifying the "governor" who is mentioned.

sentation of the Chronicler, marked an epoch in the history of Israel. The document was one, moreover, which contained a summary of his own pet interests, and those who signed it were the representatives of a community reformed according to his ideals. It is, therefore, a foregone conclusion that the number of names will be found to be a multiple of twelve; just as in his "great list," in Ezr. 2 and Neh. 7, he starts off with twelve "leaders" (Ezr. 2:2, Neh. 7:7), and makes the whole number of the people equal to twelve times the number of years which had elapsed since the creation of the world (see above, p. 216). Here in Neh. 10:2-28 the numbering is as follows: two leaders; twenty-one priests; seventeen Levites; forty-four laymen. Total, eighty-four. $84 = 7 \times 12$.

NOTES ON THE NAME יהוה.

BY GEORGE F. MOORE

III. THE PRONUNCIATION JAHVOH*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the prevailing opinion among scholars who rejected the mixed form *Jehovah* that the Jews pronounced the name *Jahvoh*. The origin and history of this almost forgotten opinion are instructive.

In the controversy about the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton which was started by Drusius' monograph in 1604, the testimony of Theodoret was early adduced. In two of his works, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* and *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, that Father, after explaining that the Jews were forbidden to utter the name, tells how the Samaritans pronounced it and what the Jews said. In the edition of the *Quaestiones* which was in the hands of scholars at the beginning of the seventeenth century¹ the text ran as follows: καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρεῖται μὲν Ἰαβέ, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ἰά.² Drusius (1604) boldly emended Ἰὰ to Ἰάω [*sic*],³ thus bringing it into conformity with Diodorus Siculus (i, 94) and other ancient statements that the god of the Jews was named Ἰάω. Drusius' *pedisequus*, Sixtinus Amama (1628), adopted the emendation without citing the reading of the edition.⁴ Cappellus (1624) quotes Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ἰάω as the actual words of Theodoret, adding, "nihil manifestius aut expressius dici potuit."⁵ Henceforth Theodoret was regularly cited as a witness that Ἰάω was the specifically Jewish pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton as Ἰαβέ was the Samaritan.⁶

* See *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, I, 143-64 = *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. XII (1908), 34-52. It need hardly be said that these notes make no pretense of completeness. A methodical search, if it were worth the time, would doubtless add many names to those here cited.

¹ Ed. Jo. Picus, Paris, 1558; Picus also published a Latin translation (Paris, 1563).

² *Quaest.* xv in *Exod.*

³ *Decas exercitationum*, ed. Reland, pp. 62 f., 64.

⁴ *Decas*, p. 206.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁶ Clericus (on *Exod.* 3:14), comparing Ἰάω, gives the pronunciation *Jahavoh* or *Jahvoh*, a form like יה־קב, פֿר־עֶה; he expressly rejects *Jeheveh* and *Jihveh*.

Sirmond, in his edition of the complete works of Theodoret (1642), replaced the 'Ià of the editio princeps of the *Quaestiones* by 'Aîá, which is in all probability what Theodoret wrote;⁷ but by that time the transmission of the quotation had become altogether independent of editions of the text. Thus Drusius' conjecture, 'Iáw—a conjecture superficially plausible but on second consideration wholly indefensible, like so many "obvious" emendations—established itself in the learned tradition, and passed unchallenged for two centuries.

Assuming that 'Iáw represented the Jewish pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, the question arose what the corresponding Hebrew form was. 'Iáw might stand for *Jaho*, יהוה, like גְּדוֹל, קְדוֹשׁ, and the proper nouns יְהוֹן, יְהוֹן; or for *Jahvo*. The latter, supported by 'Ievó, quoted by Porphyry from Sanchuniathon, was regarded as the more probable alternative. *Jahvo* would naturally be written in Hebrew יְהוֹה (or, with a negligible surreptitious syllable, יְהוֹה). There is no example of an imperfect of a ל"ה verb ending in *o*, but the proper names יַעֲקֹב, פִּרְעֹה, were compared, and, more speciously, יְהוֹי (I Chron. 5:14), which was explained by Cappellus as a variant spelling for יְהוֹה from the ל"ה verb יהוה. Another theory was that 'Iáw *Jahvo* stood for יְהוֹה, the original *a* being modified to *o* "as in אֶדֶם ὠδῶμ, לֵךְ lecho."⁸ Although not entirely unaware of the grammatical difficulties, the "Jahvohists" of the seventeenth century contented themselves with one or the other of these explanations, or with leaving open the choice between them.

The scholars of the eighteenth century contributed nothing further. Toward its close, Wahl and Scheid are cited for יְהוֹה.⁹

⁷ Sirmond based his text of the *Quaestiones* on a manuscript in the Royal Library in Paris. Cod. August., collated by Schulze, has 'Iá, as in Pieu's edition. 'Aîá is supported by the extract from Theodoret in the *Catena Nicephori* on Exod. 3:15, and by the parallel in Theodoret's *Haeret. Fabul. Compend.*, v, 3, where 'Aîá has been the reading of all the editions from the first (Rome, 1547). The earliest Latin translation, also, appears to have had *Aia*, in which form the testimony is quoted in the sixteenth century. Modern scholars have rightly recognized that 'Aîá is not יהוה but אֶהְיֶה (Exod. 3:14), which the Jews regarded as one of the sacred names of God, but not unutterable. In the Paris magical papyrus (Wessely, 3019) it stands beside other names of God: ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ · ιαβα · ιαη · αβραωθ · αἰα κ. τ. λ. (יהוה, ירה, . . . אהיה).

⁸ See Drusius, *Decas*, p. 64; Amama, p. 236; Cappellus, 312, 317 f.; Clericus, on Exod. 3:16. On *o* for *Kameš* in Jerome's transliteration of Hebrew names see Siegfried, *ZATW*, IV (1884), 75.

⁹ Winer, *Lexicon*, 1828, s. v.

Gesenius, in the first edition of his *Handwörterbuch* (1810), gives יהוה "oder ähnliches," and in 1823 could still say that most scholars read it in that way. Knobel,¹⁰ while denying that 'Iáw gave the true pronunciation of the name, thought that it had probably arisen through the incorrect formation of an imperfect יהוה or יהוה (after the analogy of יהלך and other "ע verbs), perhaps influenced by confusion with the "Phoenician" god 'Iáw, of whom Movers had recently made much. Delitzsch,¹¹ arguing against the "Samaritan" pronunciation *Jahveh*, adduces the testimony of Theodoret, "dass die jüdische Aussprache anders lautet, nämlich 'Aíd (nach a. LA 'Iá), und dieses 'Aíd, nach anderer Gräcisirung (die den dunklen a- Laut des Kamez wiedergibt) 'Iaó [sic], entspricht dem hebr. יהוה, welches sich auch dadurch als die rechte Aussprache bestätigt, dass ausnahmslos alle von Futuris des Kal der Vv. יה abgeleiteten Eigennamen nicht auf *eh*, sondern auf *ah* auslauten" (cf. יהנה, etc.).¹² The last defender of *Jahvoh* was Lenormant, who wrote: "Les remarques philologiques les plus ingénieuses en faveur de la vocalisation יהוה, qui l'ont fait adopter par les savants de l'école allemande, ne me paraissent pas pouvoir prévaloir contre le témoignage formel de Théodoret (*Quaest. xv in Exod.*) disant que les Samaritains prononçaient יהוה et les Juifs יהוה: Καλῶσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρεῖται 'Iabé, 'Ioudaíoi δὲ 'Iaó [sic], et contre le masse de passages de toute origine, aussi bien profane (Diod. Sic., i, 94) que sacrée, qui affirment la prononciation 'Iaō ou *Iaho*."¹³ Lenormant cites Bellermann, *Ueber die Gemmen der Alten mit dem Abraxas-Bilde*, II (1818), 38 ff., from whom in fact most of his wisdom, including the quotation from Theodoret, is derived; Bellermann, however, pronounces יהוה, like Adon, Jadon, Jalon, etc.

¹⁰ *Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch*, on Exod. 3:14 (1857).

¹¹ *Psalmen*, I, viii f. (1859).

¹² Köhler, *De Pronunciatione sacros. Tetragrammatis* (1867)^o follows Delitzsch (*Schrader, Bibel-Lexikon*, III, 168). In more recent times Sayce (*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 87) prefers "Yahvah" to *Yahveh*, because of the Babylonian contract tablets on which occur names of Jews compounded with Ya(h)ava(h). So, on the same grounds, Ball (*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, 2d ed., II, 1553). Delitzsch was convinced of his error by letters of Dietrich in 1861 and 1866, which Delitzsch published in the *Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft*, III (1883), 280-98.

¹³ *Lettres assyriologiques*, II (1872), 192 f.

It should be superfluous to add that 'Iáw does not represent יְהוָה, but the form יְהוּ, now amply attested in Aramaic papyri.

IV. THE PRONUNCIATION JAHVEH

In the discussion of this pronunciation I include the variations *Jahāveh* and *Jehveh*, *Jehēveh*. The apparently trisyllabic forms, which originate in the phonetic notation of the slight vowel sound that may accompany either a slovenly or an over-distinct utterance of the *h*, may be dismissed as having no further significance. *Jehveh*, however, is an alternative pronunciation having good analogy; some scholars have given it the preference over *Jahveh*, while others decline to pronounce between them.¹⁴

In the imperfect of the simple stem, verbs beginning with a so-called guttural consonant and ending in a vowel (ל"ה) exhibit the following forms: יַעֲשֶׂה, יַעֲדֶה; יַעֲלֶה, יַעֲנֶה; יַחֲבֶה, יַחֲנֶה. Closer analysis shows that these variations are not quite indifferent—the nature of the guttural and the position of the stress being recognizable factors—though they can hardly be reduced to a uniform rule; but the older grammarians made no exhaustive classification of the phenomena and paid no attention to phonetic considerations. *Jehveh* (יְהוָה) had, on the whole, the better support in such forms as יַחֲבֶה, יַחֲנֶה; יַעֲלֶה, יַעֲנֶה: and, what was of greater weight, it had for it the analogy of אַחֲבֶה in Exod. 3:15.¹⁵ The testimony of the Church Fathers who wrote the name 'Iaoué¹⁶ or 'Iaβè¹⁷ was not irreconcilable with יְהוָה, as appears from אֶבֶל Αβελ, גִּזְרִי Γαζερ, אֶרֶץ araz, אֶרֶס | אֶרֶס ares, אֶרֶב areb, etc. The Hebrew sound represented in the common notation as ׀ must in fact have been comparatively close to that represented by ׀ (compare English *mat*, *met*), since the supralinear system does not distinguish them. On the other hand the forms יְהוּ, יְהוֹ, at the beginning of compound proper names, and יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, at the end, presuppose יְהוָה.

¹⁴ In the earlier discussions it is generally assumed that the name יְהוָה was derived from the simple stem of הוה; from the causative stem, יהוה alone was possible.

¹⁵ Jacob, *Im Namen Gottes*, p. 168, prefers יְהוָה, in which he sees a regularly formed Aramaic imperfect.

¹⁶ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v, 6.

¹⁷ Epiphanius, *Adv. Haereses*, i, 3, 20[40]; Theodoret, *ll. cc.*

The first, so far as I know, to suggest the pronunciation *Jahveh* was Genebrardus,¹⁸ who, after inveighing against the new and ignorant pronunciation *Jehovah*, gives it as his opinion that, if the true pronunciation be not irrecoverably lost, it is *Ihué* [יְהוֹה], or *Iahué*, in support of which he adduces the shortened form *Jah* and Theodore's statement that the Samaritans pronounced 'Iaβáí [ʾIaβé]. Mercerus would pronounce יְהוֹה, after the analogy of אֱהוֹה in Exod. 3:15. Arias Montanas infers from the analogy of similar nouns that it should be pronounced *Jeveh*.¹⁹ Similarly Cornelius a Lapide (†1637). Scaliger recognized that Theodore's 'Iaβè represents יְהוֹה or יְהוֹה, ὁ ὢν.²⁰

Drusius himself, the inventor of *Jahvoh*, would, on grammatical grounds, prefer the form which Theodore attributes to the Samaritans, 'Iaβé, i. e., יְהוֹה, "vel certe יְהוֹה, quod antiquitus legebant *Jave* . . . ut פִּסְגָּה *Phasga*," etc.²¹ "Est autem יְהוֹה idem plane cum יְהוֹה.²² Mutatio facta, ut aliquod esset discrimen inter verbum futuri temporis et nomen proprium Dei. Sic est profecto, Deus se vocat אֱהוֹה *sum*: nos dicimus יְהוֹה et יְהוֹה *est*, vel יְהוֹה." Amama repeats and defends his master.²³ Gusset, in his *Lexicon* (1702; 2d ed. Clodius, 1743), has a clear and sensible treatment of the subject, criticizing Cappellus' *Jahvoh*: "porro genuinam prolationem fuisse putem cum Placaeo²⁴ יְהוֹה aut יְהוֹה, retentis futuri verbi sonis, ut in אֱהוֹה nomine simul tradito . . . retinentur."²⁵

Thus from the middle of the sixteenth century there was a succession of eminent scholars who regarded *Jahveh*, or more commonly *Jehveh*, as the true pronunciation of the name.²⁶

It is a widespread opinion that the pronunciation *Jahveh* was introduced by Ewald (1803–1875), if not first proposed by him,²⁷

¹⁸ *Chronologia* (1567); ed. Paris, 1600, pp. 79 f.

¹⁹ For fuller quotations from these scholars, see *Old Test. and Semitic Studies*, I, 156 f.

²⁰ *De Emend. Temp.*, ed. 1598. Append., Vet. Grace. Fragm. Select. 33.

²¹ *Decas*, 64 f. In his Annotations on Exod. 3, he gives יְהוֹה also as a possibility.

²² Represented by the Jewish pronunciation *Javo*.

²³ *Decas*, p. 236.

²⁴ The Saumur theologian, La Place, 1651.

²⁵ Zeltner (†1736), in his *Enneas quaest. philol.* (1747), p. 34°, pronounced יְהוֹה.

²⁶ At the end of the eighteenth century, J. D. Michaelis (*Supplementa*, I, 524) thinks it necessary expressly to refute this view.

²⁷ See, e. g., *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (III), 3321.

and this error threatens to become as inveterate as that Galatinus was the first to pronounce *Jehovah*, with less excuse because the evidence to the contrary is accessible to every scholar.

The lexicon in general use in Germany in the latter part of the eighteenth century was that of I. Simon (1752; 2d ed., 1771). Simon defended the pronunciation *Jehovah*, which he regarded as representing the three tenses of יהיה = היה. The third edition of Simonis Lexicon (1793) was revised by J. G. Eichhorn, who, in the first paragraphs of the article יהוה (p. 423), set forth his own opinion as follows: “יהוה nomen proprium Dei, a Mose demum introductum, eum, qui re praestitutus sit, quod olim promiserit, ex ipsa loci Mosaici authentica explicatione Exod. 3, 14, significans, adeoque יהוה vel יהוה proprie efferendum, ut ex veteribus Theodoretus et Epiphanius *Jabe* h. e. *Jave* scripserunt.” (Under יה [p. 681] he writes יהוה.)²⁸ Gesenius, who in the first edition of his *Handwörterbuch* (1810) gives as the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton “יהוה or the like,” in his smaller lexicon of 1815 decides unqualifiedly for יהוה, which appeared in all subsequent editions of the *Handwörterbuch* (2d ed. 1823, 3d ed. 1828), as also in the *Lexicon Manuale* (1833) and the *Thesaurus* (II, i, 1839). The pronunciation יהוה was made familiar to English students by Gibbs’s translation of Gesenius (1824), Leo’s (1825), and Robinson’s (1836).

Ewald was a student in Göttingen from 1820–1823 pursuing the oriental languages under Eichhorn and Tychsen. In 1823 he published his first work, *Die Komposition der Genesis*, in which he rejects the etymological connection with היה (אזיה), and continues (p. 10): “Eben so wenig folgt aus der Stelle [Exod. 3:14 f.], dass יהוה eigentlich יהוה ausgesprochen werden müsste, wie noch neulich nach Zeltneri *Enneas quaest. philol.* (Lips. 1747) p. 34 behauptet ist.” Zeltner is cited by Eichhorn who also, as will be seen from the quotation above, argues that Exod. 3:15 indicates the true pronunciation יהוה. If the words “noch neulich” were to be pressed, we might infer that Ewald was referring to Gesenius (1815); but such phrases are used with

²⁸ Winer, in the fourth edition of Simon (1828), says that the learned are divided between יהוה, יהוה, and יהוה, and leaves the question undecided.

considerable latitude, and it may be Eichhorn that he is refuting. The important thing is that יהוה had established itself in the two dictionaries which were in the hands of all scholars in Germany, one of them published ten years before Ewald was born, the other in the year in which he entered the gymnasium, and that in 1823 he went out of his way to reject that pronunciation. In his *Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (1828), however, though he uses *Jehova* throughout, he writes (p. 220): "יהוה (wahrscheinl. eig. יהוה);" in the second edition of the *Grammatik* (1835), he uses *Jahve*, and writes (p. 216): "יהוה (יהוה punctirt)."

The pronunciation *Jahveh* was maintained on conclusive grammatical grounds by Hitzig in 1833 (*Jesaia*, p. 4); Vatke accepted it in 1835 (*Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 670); Hengstenberg in 1839 elaborately defended it (*Beiträge*, II, 204 ff.).²⁹ Ewald's relation to the matter is thus accurately stated by Schrader:³⁰ "Ewald, in seiner Jugendschrift: 'Ueber die Composition der Genesis' (Braunschweig, 1823) noch die Aussprache Jehovah in Schutz nehmend, hat sich später entschieden für die Aussprache Jahve erklärt und ist der erste gewesen, der des Namens Jahve in seinen Schriften, namentlich auch in seinen Uebersetzungen alttest. Bücher, durchgehends und consequent sich bedient hat."

In other words, what Ewald did was not to suggest or prove that the true pronunciation of the name was *Jahveh*, but to use it constantly in translation and in his own writings, where his predecessors, out of concession to established custom, had employed *Jehovah*.

²⁹ See also E. Meier, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, I (1842), 473 ff.; Caspari, *Micha* (1852), p. 5 ff.

³⁰ *Bibel-Lexikon*, III (1871), 167.

Book Notice

BURCHARDT'S *ALTKANAANÄISCHEN FREMDWORTE*

Semitic scholars have hardly yet begun to employ the philological material available in Egypt for a study of the earliest phases of Semitic speech in Syria and Palestine. On the monuments of Egypt there is preserved a large number of Semitic words which are the earliest examples known to us from the dialects of Syria-Palestine, and the oldest surviving specimens of Semitic speech except some documents in Babylonia. Many years ago these words were partially collected by Bondi, who, however, excluded proper names. W. Max Müller in his *Asien und Europa* has also a considerable mass of this material, comprising, however, almost exclusively geographical names. A very useful contribution, therefore, has been made by Dr. Max Burchardt¹ in his effort to collect all foreign words of Semitic origin now surviving in Egyptian documents. In the conduct of this work Dr. Burchardt was assisted by the use of the materials of the Egyptian Dictionary now available in Berlin, and this great advantage, together with the persistent industry with which he has pursued the work, has enabled him to make a far larger collection of these words than any of his predecessors. In this respect the work may be called thoroughly exhaustive. Viewed in the mass, these words form a considerable body of material for a study of early Semitic as found in the West. They furnish many interesting facts. For example, we have long known, as Erman years ago noticed, that the feminine *t* in Semitic nouns, is lost in the course of the observations which one may make on this material. That is, it disappears before one's eyes, being found in the documents of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580-1350 B. C.), but being lost in those of the early Twenty-second Dynasty (after 950 B. C.). When these materials as collected by Dr. Burchardt have been thoroughly worked through and incorporated into the Hebrew dictionary, they will form an important element of our lexicographical knowledge. The first part of the book comprises only "Die kritische Analyse der Schreibung." The other part will contain the entire list of materials and a complete glossary. We may congratulate Dr. Burchardt on the preparation of a very useful book, which will form the standard source for these materials.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

¹DIE ALTKANAANÄISCHEN FREMDWORTE UND EIGENNAMEN IM AEGYPTISCHEN. Von Max Burchardt. Erster Teil: "Die kritische Analyse der Schreibung." Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909.

Books Received

- BROOKE, ALAN ENGLAND, AND MCLEAN, NORMAN (editors). *The Old Testament in Greek. According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Vol. I. The Octateuch (to be completed in 4 parts). Part II. Exodus and Leviticus.* Cambridge: University Press, 1909. viii+251 pages. \$1.00.
- LEWIS, AGNES SMITH. *Codex Climaci Rescriptus. Fragments of Sixth Century Palestinian Syriac Texts of the Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of St. Paul's Epistles. Also Fragments of an Early Palestinian Lectionary of the Old Testament, etc. With Seven Facsimiles. (Horae Semiticae, No. VIII.)* Cambridge: University Press, 1909. xxxi+201 pages. \$3.50.
- POEBEL, ARNO. *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Chiefly from Nippur. (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts, edited by H. V. Hilprecht.)* Philadelphia: Published by the Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1909. xvi+164.
- BELLELI, L. *An Independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri, with Eleven Plates and Two Appendices on Sundry Items.* London: Luzac & Co., 1909. 204 pages. \$1.80.
- SCHNEIDER, HERMANN. *Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens. Die Entwicklung der Jahureligion und der Mosesagen in Israel und Juda: Die Entwicklung des Gilgameschepos. Mit zwei Abbildungen.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909. 84 pages.
- ANAÏSSI, P. TOBIA. *Etimologie Semitiche. Saggio delle voci arabe, siriane ecc. introdotte nelle lingue italiana, spagnuola, francese, inglese, greca e latina e delle voci di queste medesime lingue introdotte nella lingua araba parlata.* Roma: Casa editrice italiana, 1909. 36 pages. L. 3.
- CAETANI, LEONE. *The Tajarib Al-Uman or History of Ibn Miskawayh (Abu Ali Ahmad B. Muhammad) ob. A. H. 421. Reproduced in Facsimile from the MS at Constantinople in the Aya Sufiyya Library. With a Preface and Summary. Printed for the Trustees of the "A. J. W. Gibb Memorial."* Vol. I. Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1909. xxx+631 pages.
- MARGOLIOUTH D. S. (editor). *The Irshad Al-Arib Ila Ma'Rifat Al-Adib, or Dictionary of Learned Men of Yaqt. Printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial."* Vol. II. Containing the Latter Part of the Letter ا to the End of the Letter ج. Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1909. ج

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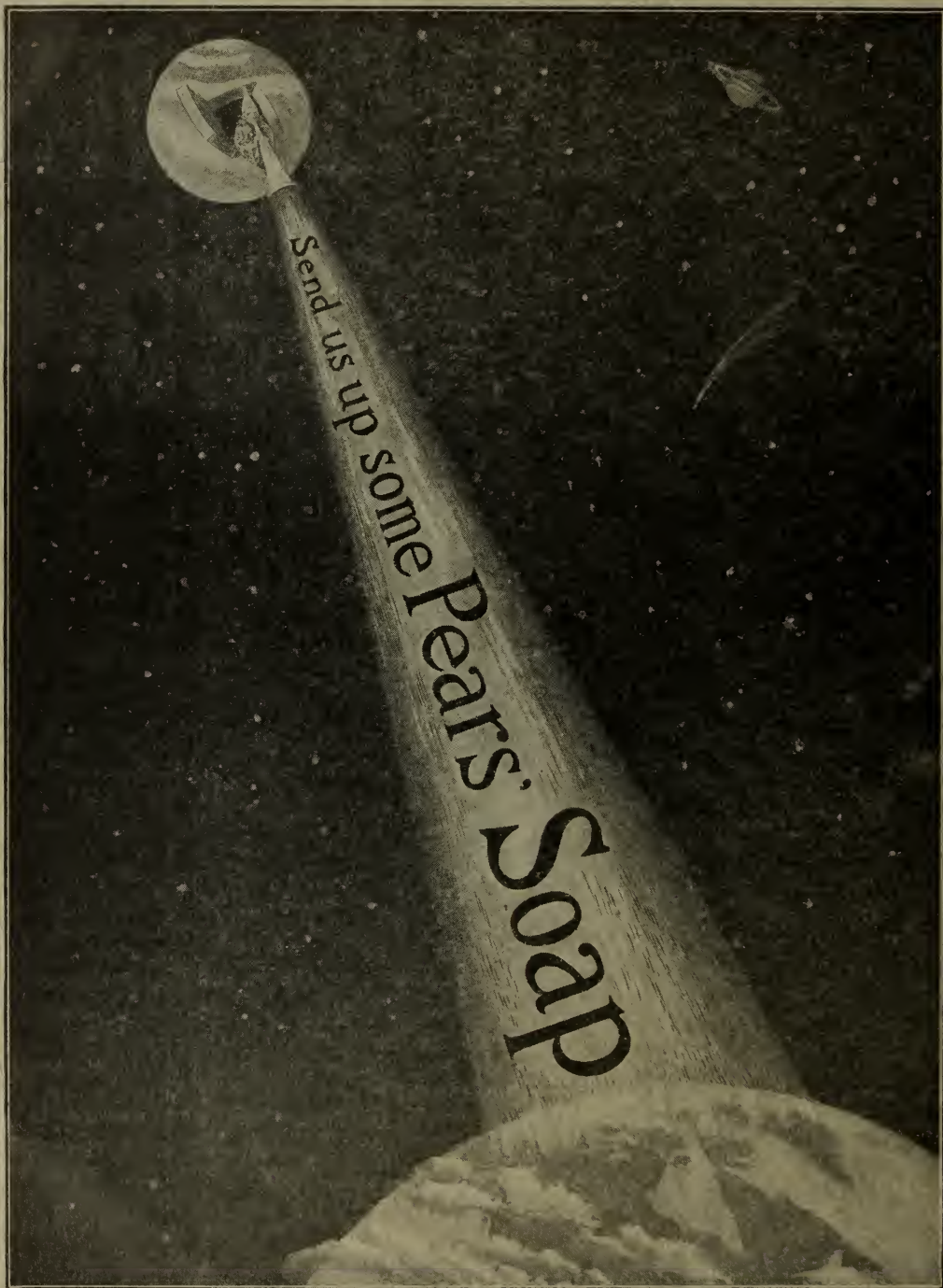
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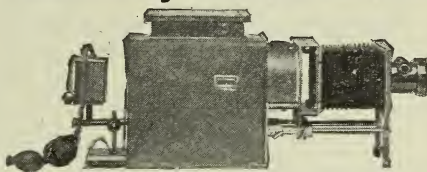
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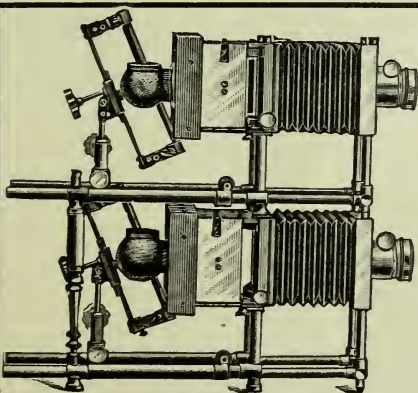
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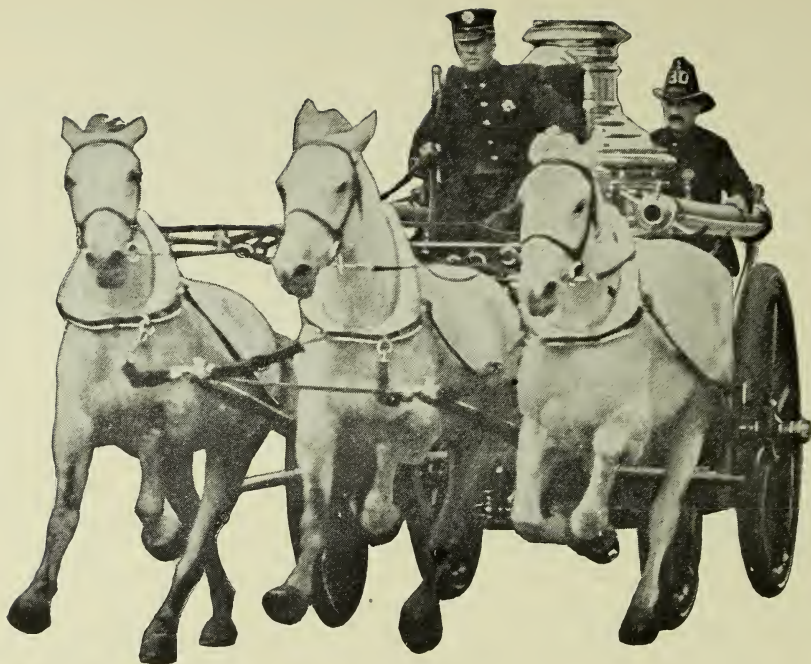
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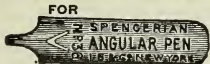
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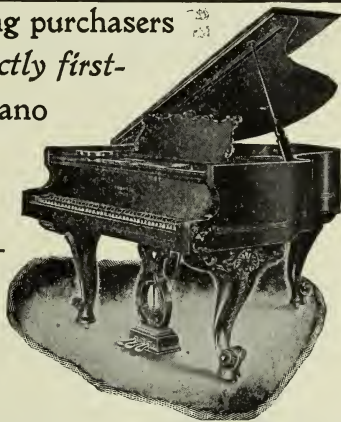
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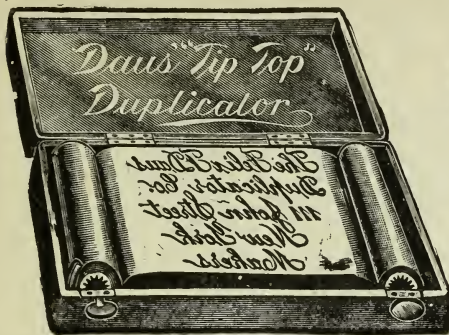
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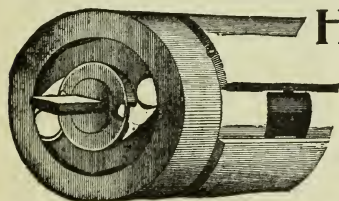
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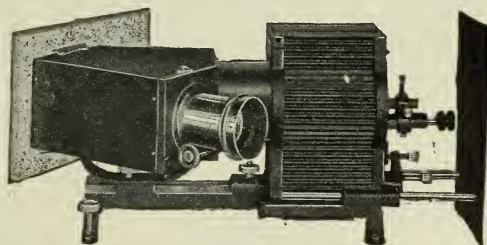
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